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**The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.**

# **D Cymmrodor**

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VOL. XLIII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

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1932

## **The Croes Nawdd.**

By EDWARD OWEN, M.A.,

*Reader in Welsh Mediæval Antiquities at the University of Liverpool.*

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THE production of the following document through the medium of cold print would at any time find justification in the inherent interest of the subject to which it relates ; but some such treatment has become imperative by reason of the chances and changes which have befallen both original and its transcript. These circumstances not only explain the present appearance of this article ; they are of such a nature as to call for a fairly lengthy recital of small details which would otherwise be as impertinent as it would be unnecessary. However, I can only apologise for the personal note, and get on with my story.

About half a century ago—certainly nearer fifty years than forty—and soon after my introduction to the Public Record Office, my curiosity was excited by an entry in one of the now obsolete manuscript catalogues of the documents belonging to the Exchequer branch of legal records. The entry ran as follows : "Repairs, &c., of the Jewel called the Cross of Saint Neots on which the Kings of Scotland were sworn, 26 Edw. III." I was already acquainted with the notices in several of the English chronicles to a jewelled relic containing a portion of the cross upon which the Saviour of mankind had suffered which had been found upon the body of Llewelyn ap

Gruffydd, the last Prince of Wales, killed near Builth on the 11th December, 1281. My interest being aroused, I applied in the usual manner for the document. I found it to be endorsed in the same manner as quoted above, the entry in the catalogue having doubtless been taken from the endorsement without further examination of the document itself. A little later I came to the conclusion from a comparison of handwritings that the endorsement was written by Mr. Charles Devon, who, in the earlier part of the 19th century, was an official in the records branch of the then Court of Exchequer.

The original document turned out to be a short roll of two or three membranes sewed together, very faded, and damaged in places. I made as good a transcript of it as I was then capable of, but this would have been sadly incomplete had I not obtained the kind assistance of the Superintendent of the Literary Search Room, Mr. E. Salisbury, who was then regarded as being one of the ablest of the P.R.O. staff, and who has been some years deceased. With Mr. Salisbury's help I got through my task with, I hope, tolerable success. At that time, however, I had no medium open to me through which such a document could appear; so the transcript was put aside amongst a rapidly accumulating stock of similar historical material.

Many years afterwards—perhaps four or five years after the opening of the present century—the transcript came to the surface, and its general interest having recurred to me, I determined upon publishing it in some historical or antiquarian journal; but before doing so I thought it desirable to trace the later history of the relic to which it related, and if possible to discover its final fate. With this idea in mind I took my transcript to the Public Record Office, and there submitted it to my friend and frequent fellow worker, the late Professor Tout, who



was then just commencing his researches into the Wardrobe accounts. Tout was much interested, especially in my suggestion that the endorsement on the document was inaccurate and possibly had led astray a generation or two of students; and a short time later he handed me an extract relating to the Croes Nawdd which he had taken from one of the accounts with which he was then dealing. This extract I have before me as I write these words, and it will be given a little later on in this paper. In addition to this I managed to add a few scraps of information to the meagre collection I had been able to draw together; but of the ultimate disposal of the relic I could gather nothing.

How it came to pass that this second opportunity of putting the document into print was allowed to slip by I cannot now recollect. Suffice it to say that such was the case. For another period of about a quarter of a century the transcript was put away, and it was not until about twelve months ago that it turned up once more. This time I determined there should be no further procrastination; but again I thought it desirable to refresh my memory with a sight of the original. Alas, I had delayed too long. Something had happened to the document in consequence of which it could not now be produced. A fresh arrangement of this class of records had been carried out, and by an unfortunate mishap the clue to the new location or reference had not been appended to the entry in the earlier calendar. With the extremely careful methods of deposit and distribution in operation at the Public Record Office, and the almost meticulous vigilance of the entire staff, it is impossible to imagine that the document has been abstracted or destroyed. It has probably no more than changed its quarters, but it has omitted to leave its present address behind it. In the immense collection of separate documents and the somewhat bewildering method of classification now in

use in Fetter Lane the chances of finding a record which has gone astray are about parallel with the proverbial needle and the proverbial haystack. It has certainly disappeared—"it may be for years or it may be for ever", and it is only by the remotest chance, veritably one in ten thousand, that it will again come to light in the lifetime of anyone now living. Under such circumstances it has to be charitably treated as "not lost, but gone before". In the meantime my transcript holds the field as the only existing record of its special and particular content: and herein lies the importance of putting it and all similar historical documents into print, when, whatever their defects of omission (if damaged) or commission (if transcripts, e.g., the transcript of the lost Red Book of St. Asaph), they will at any rate be saved from utter oblivion.

For these reasons, and for the purpose of recording within the limits of a single article everything that relates to, or is even remotely connected with, the Croes Nawdd, the insertion here of a note entitled "The Pageant and *The Crux Neoti*" printed in the Roman Catholic organ *The Tablet* of the 17th June, 1911 (p. 921), will, it is hoped, be deemed not wholly irrelevant. The plea for the almost complete inclusion of this note in the present article is strengthened by the fact that it contains a brightly written if not altogether accurate recital of the historical evidence for the existence and fate of the Welsh Cross, and also because it is the authority for much of the detail relating to the Croes Nawdd recorded in the Rev. Dr. Hartwell Jones's able and exhaustive volume entitled "Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement" (Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion, 1912).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the historical details, Dr. Hartwell Jones has included all the references to the Cross in Welsh mediæval poetry, though it is not clear that the invocations or allusions to a cross made by the Welsh bards are directed to the particular cross which is the subject of the present paper.

The *Tablet* article of the 17th June, 1911, is directly concerned with an episode in the series of scenes entitled The Festival of [the British] Empire held in the grounds of the Crystal Palace in the coronation year of the present King : it runs as follows :—

The great Festival of Empire at the Crystal Palace has so far attracted curiously little attention in the Press. Even the Pageant of London has been overshadowed by the greater Pageant that is to come, and in these busy days of preparation for the Coronation the newspapers have little space to spare for anything which does not relate directly to the crowning of the King. Even the wonderfully picturesque scene in which Edward I. is represented carrying a relic of the True Cross in procession in [*rectè* to] Westminster Abbey has failed to win any sort of adequate recognition or record. . . . . As the conqueror of Scotland, Edward I. had brought to Westminster what the Scottish Kings prized most—the famous Coronation stone. As the conqueror of Wales, he brought to Westminster, and in sign of Sovereignty, what the Welsh Princes had held most dear—their most treasured relic. But what is the story of this relic, and how came it to Wales, and what was its subsequent history?

For a definite starting-point in the history of the relic we must go back to the year 1282. Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, the last Prince of Wales of the native line, was in desperate straits. He was excommunicate, probably through the machinations of Peckham, never very friendly to Wales; Edward I. had invaded the country with a powerful army; David, the Prince's brother, had proved himself doubly a traitor, and the English King's agents were doing their best to estrange Llewelyn's under-lords and attach them to the service of the English King. The melancholy fate of the Welsh Prince is well known: how he, unarmed, was slain near Builth [*sic*] by an English knight, who, not knowing whom he had killed, galloped away to join the fighting a short distance off. On his return, he found that his victim was none other than Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. The head was cut off and sent to the King in North Wales, and, after Edward had exhibited it to his soldiers in Anglesey, he despatched it to London so as to gratify the citizens with concrete evidence of his triumph. The body was buried by the Cistercians in their neighbouring Abbey of Cwm Hir, though nothing now marks the site of the grave. On the body of the dead Prince was found a reliquary containing a portion of the true Cross, referred to by Walsingham (*Ypodigma Neustriæ*): “*quæ ideo Neoti dicitur quod quen-*

dam sacerdotem sic vocatum antiquitus de terra sancta fuit in Walliam deportata", and in another sentence: "crux dicta Neoti, magnam de ligno crucis Christi continens portionem". In a document signed by Edward I. at Rhuddlan, June 25th, 1283, it is stated that Avian [*rectè* Anian], son of Ynor, Llewelyn, David, Meylor, and Gronow his sons, Gronow son of David, Avyan, Dayhoc, and Tegwaret [*rectè* Tegwaret] his sons, delivered up to the King recently at Aberconway that part of the most precious wood of the Cross, called in Welsh Croes Neyht, which formerly belonged to Prince Llewelyn and his ancestors the Princes of Wales before him. (Note at foot of column: "Epitome historiae Britanniae" (Cott. Lib. Titus D, xxii) adds 'cum multis aliis famosis reliquiis'.) The King in return grants them and their heirs in perpetuity exemption from military service outside the districts that correspond roughly to the counties of Flint and Denbigh (Rymer I., 630; see also Haddon and Stubbs, I, 549). In 1284 this relic was solemnly presented by the King to Westminster Abbey, probably as a sign of his triumph over Wales, in the same way as he afterwards brought the Coronation chair of Secone. "Annales de Waverleia", anno 1284, relate: "Portionem dominicæ crucis, auro fulvis ac lapidibus pretiosis ac lucentibus adornatam, quam de Wallia secum tulit, apud Westmonasterium solemniter advexit, et ibidem super magnum altare collocavit". It may perhaps be taken as evidence of the importance attached to the possession of this relic that the surrender of it to the English King, and its subsequent translation to the Abbey at Westminster, are referred to by several other contemporary authorities. The "Flores Historiarum", of which this portion was written at the time by a monk at Westminster, the "Annales Londonienses", and William Rishanger all tell the story. We learn that when, on the last day of April, the King bore the relic in procession to its resting place in the Abbey, he was preceded by the Archbishop of Canterbury and some of his suffragans in their vestments, and by great numbers of nobles and religious, and an immense multitude of the populace, who chanted as they went. The relic is described as of large size, adorned with gold and silver, and brilliant in precious stones. William Rishanger, after speaking of the great reverence in which the relic was held by the Welsh people, explains that its name "Crosseneyht" or "Croizneth", came from the fact that it was encased in a cross called "Neoli", after a priest who long before had brought it from the Holy Land. The name Neot is unusual, its best known bearer being St. Neot, a kinsman probably of King Alfred; his life, however, in the Bollandists (July 31st) contains no mention of a visit to the Holy Land, nor of his possession of a portion of the True Cross. The "Annales

Londonienses" affirm that King Edward, on May 4th, presented the Holy Cross called Neot to the nuns of St. Helen's [Bishopsgate], "et ivit pedes cum comitibus, baronibus, episcopis". Possibly this means that St. Neot's reliquary alone was given to the nuns. If, however, the relic itself was removed from Westminster Abbey four days after it had been so solemnly taken there, it would appear to have been returned to the custody of the monks at a later date.

In 1303 the ancient Norman chapel of the Pyx, the Royal Treasury of those days, was broken into, and many of its valuable contents stolen. An attempt was made to attribute the crime to some of the monks, a charge indignantly repudiated by Matthew of Westminster. The Treasury contained a larger amount of specie than usual, ready for the King's use on one of his Scottish campaigns. Among the treasures carried off by the robbers was a crucifix with jewels, but we cannot be sure that this was the Crux Neoti. However, the greater part of the stolen property was afterwards recovered, and whether the Welsh Cross formed a portion of the booty or not, there is evidence to show that it was in the custody of the Treasurer a few years later. In 12th Edward III. the Treasurer's inventory mentions "un sapphire de la croice Gneyth £50". Six years later the new Treasurer noted "clavem de cruce Gneyth". In 25th Edward III. a memorandum dated March 25th states that John Louskyne and Nicholas Lombard became sureties on behalf of Richard de Crymmesby [*sic*], goldsmith to the King, for making a foot of gold and silver for the cross called "croys Neyht". Whether this was in the nature of repairs rendered necessary by any damage to the reliquary in 1303, or whether the reliquary now received a new shape, there seems no evidence to determine. Perhaps some reader may be able to tell us if the relic of the True Cross said to be contained in "St. Edward's crown", used at the Coronation of the English monarchs, is the Crux Neoti, famed in Welsh history. If so, both Coronation Chair and Crown are significant emblems of the unity of Great Britain, attained by the conquests of Edward I. Crux Neoti gives us the Welsh form "croes naidd", used by several of the Welsh poets. Lewis Môn salutes Gwilym with the words:

Ma' croes naidd rhaid dy fawrhau  
Mao'n gwyr ereill, man greigiau.

In addition to the late signification of the expression, when it meant something of very great value, the sacred character of the relic was acknowledged in the common Welsh affirmation "Myn croes naidd" (*Tablet*, 17th June, 1911).

The name of the writer of this interesting article is

not known to me, but from his evidently close acquaintance with the various chroniclers' and record notices of the Welsh cross he may have been one of the then Record Office staff. It is clear, however, that he had no knowledge of the document which is here presented, otherwise he would have mentioned and probably quoted from it.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the transcript. It is not clear from the meagre details we now possess what the precise character

<sup>1</sup> Since the London Pageant at the Coronation of our present King may have almost entirely faded from the recollection of the majority of its contemporaries, and is as incurious as it is indifferent to the present generation, it may not be unworthy of record that amongst the group of advisers or consultants on the different historical "subjects" for illustration at the Pageant, Wales was represented by Dr. J. A. Wylie (author of the *Histories of Henry IV and Henry V.*) and the writer of the present lines. Several episodes had been discussed and rejected for one reason or another when, having my researches on the Croes Nawdd well in my recollection, I suggested the scene which was eventually adopted with the warm approval of the chairman, Sir George Lawrence Gomme, and Dr. Wylie. The subject was then passed on to others for development and preparation, and eventually emerged as quite the most charming of the pictures illustrative of that period of our national history. I was present with Dr. Wylie at the first public presentation of the scene: it was also the last occasion upon which I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Wylie. Amongst those who were principally responsible for the elaboration and perfection of detail appears to have been the eminent historical scholar, Dr. (afterwards Sir) G. J. Turner, who, in a letter to the *Tablet* of the 1st July, 1911, arising out of and adding to the information given in the article already quoted above, wrote as follows:—"Sir, the interesting article in the *Tablet* of June 17th on 'The Pageant and the Crux Neoti' induces me, as historical referee, to offer you a few remarks on the subject. In the first place, I must observe that my individual work in this panel of Scene VII. was confined to writing the introductory note, supplying a rough draft of the description of the procession and adding an appendix of extracts from the chronicles. All the elaborate details on costume noted in the Book of the Pageant were settled by a special committee which enjoyed the advantage of having the learned Mgr. Moyes as its chairman. . . . Secondly, I must draw attention to an apparent discrepancy between a passage in your article and another in the Historical Note in the Book of the Pageant. The article states that it was Avian and certain other

of the much prized relic was. Its description suggests a crucifix, or an object shaped in the form of a cross made probably of wood, richly carved and encrusted with precious stones, and containing a cavity within which was placed a fragment or splinter of what was supposed to be the cross upon which the Saviour of mankind had suffered. The *croes* would probably have borne

Welshmen who delivered the cross to the King; whereas the Note states that the cross was brought to him by a certain secretary of Llewelyn, Hugh ap Ithel by name. Both accounts are based on official documents, and are, no doubt, true in substance; but, owing to some inaccuracy of expression, they are not in agreement in point of detail. The authority for the cross having been brought to the King by Hugh ap Ithel is an entry in a Wardrobe Account of the year 1284, which reads as follows:—*Hugoni ab Ythel cleric, qui detulit crucem Neith ad regem, student Oxonie percipienti per ebdomadam de elemosina regis xij denarios pro uadiis suis.* This Hugh may be identified with the secretary of Llewelyn, by whom, according to Rishanger, a contemporary chronicler, it was brought to the King. It is not unlikely, however, that the cross had been concealed, and though discovered to the King by Hugh, was actually brought to him by Avian and the others. Possibly documents may yet come to light which will conclusively solve the difficulty caused by the difference between the two official statements. Though the subsequent history of the cross has not been traced, it is known that it was not given by the King to the monks of Westminster, but was treated by him as his private property. This is evident from the fact that the King was at Holmeoltram in Cumberland on October 16th, 1300, when Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, took an oath of fealty to the King on the ‘Croys Neyt’ and the ‘Blake Rode’ of Scotland (“*Foedera*”, vol. i, p. 924). This cross was certainly at Westminster at later dates, but several entries on our public records, some of which are cited in your article, show that it was then in the custody of the King’s Treasurer. It was evidently placed temporarily upon the altars of Westminster and St. Helen’s in order to give the religious of these houses and the citizens of London an opportunity to venerate it. Finally, it should be observed that we know from Fleta that the monks of Westminster themselves possessed three relics of the Holy Cross, one of which was, like the Welsh Fragment, inserted in a large and decorated cross. I may add that the name ‘Avian’ mentioned above on the authority of Rymer, is probably a misreading for Anian, which was not uncommon as a surname in Wales in the thirteenth century. I am, yours faithfully, G. J. Turner. Lincoln’s Inn, June 26th.”

a figure of the crucified One, and the whole was doubtless enclosed in a locked or sealed box or reliquary which could be carried by or upon the person; hence the entry of the treasurer's receipt of the "clavis de cruce Gneyth". What were the circumstances or date at which this precious relic came into the possession of the Welsh princes it is, of course, impossible to tell. It is not likely that it had been made for or obtained by an earlier possessor than Llewelyn ap Gruffydd; it may have been acquired by him at his marriage with Eleanor de Montfort, and the conjecture is not unwarrantable that it may have belonged to the great Earl of Leicester and been brought by him from France or from Italy.<sup>1</sup> The writer of the

<sup>1</sup> It is certain that the cross or relic, whatever its original form may have been, was not found on the body of Llewelyn. The Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to the English King a few days after the catastrophe, says: "Know Sire that those who were at the death of Llewelyn found in the most hidden part of his body some small articles which ourselves have seen. Amongst other things there was a treasonable letter disguised under false names. And, for your information, we send a copy of it to the Bishop of Bath; the letter itself Edmund de Mortimer has, as well as Llewelyn's privy seal, and these things you may have if it please you". Had this specially sacrosanct relic been amongst the objects found upon the Welsh prince's person, we may be sure that it would have received particular mention from the archbishop. The very interesting extract from the records given by Sir George Turner only shows that Hugh ap Ithel was the messenger who brought the cross to the King, not necessarily directly from the body of Llewelyn or from the hands of Edmund de Mortimer.

Not without significance, also, is the statement in the report of the possessions of Welbeck Abbey immediately prior to its dissolution in 1535, that "there is in the said Abbey a cross of fine gold and pretious stones, whercof one diamond was esteemed by Doctor Booth, bishop of Hereford, worth one hundred marks. In that cross is inclosed a piece of wood named to be of the cross that Christ died upon, and to the same hath been offering—and when it should be brought down from the treasury to the church, it was brought down with lights, and like reverence as should have been done to Christ himself. I fear lest the abbot, upon Sunday next, when he may enter the treasury, will take away the said cross and break it, or turn



article in the *Tablet* has suggested that the injury to the cross might have been caused during the raid upon the Crown jewels in the year 1303: but this is improbable, as amongst the collection of relics taken by Edward the First to ensure the success of his last expedition against the Scots in the year 1307 was the

Crux Neygh' ornata auro et lapid' p'eios' una cum pede ejusd' crucis de auro et ge'mis in quada' casula de coir' ex'a coffr' d'co pedi aptata (*P.R.O.: Exch. K.R. Accounts, etc., bundle 370, No. 3; reference, E. 101 (370) 3.*)<sup>1</sup>

it to his own use, with many other pretious jewels that be there" (Printed in Thos. Wright's *History of Ludlow* (p. 352), and Froude's *Short Studies* i, 423). Welbeck Abbey was the spiritual home of the Mortimer family, and it will be remembered that Edmund de Mortimer was in command of the English army in the Marches when Llewelyn was killed. It is by no means improbable that the cross at Welbeck Abbey should be the celebrated Welsh cross to which its description shows it to have borne a striking similarity, and that it should have been obtained by one of the later Mortimers in the course of the vicissitudes to which the English Crown jewels were occasionally subjected.

It is indeed clearly substantiated that the relic was not found upon the body of Llewelyn by the entry in the Welsh Roll for the year 1283 of a grant to Anian ap Ynyr, and others qui detulerunt ad regam [Edwardo] partem illam pretiosisimi ligni crucis que a Wallensibus vocatur Croysseneyht, and for their pains were absolved of service to the king in the four cantreds. Some English chroniclers speak of the crown of Arthur as having been amongst the regalia of the Welsh princes, and it is possible that Llewelyn may have had a circlet or chaplet of gold for ceremonial purposes; but the idea of the crown of Arthur doubtless sprang from the embellishments of Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of that hero.

<sup>1</sup> Edward, in addition to being a bold and experienced warrior, was a deeply religious man, and he had provided himself with what may not inappropriately be regarded as a fairly complete armoury of sacred relics to aid his temporal forces against the recalcitrant Scots. It is interesting to find in the Inventory taken after the King's death at Burgh on Sands mention of a silver casket bearing the figure of St. Paul (*ymagine S'ci Pauli*); another casket contained relics of several saints, amongst which was an arm (*brachium*) of St. David, which doubtless had been presented to the King on the occasions of his visit to St. Davids in 1286. It would be interesting to know whether some of the bones supposed be those of St. David are missing from the collection now preserved in the saint's cathedral.

It is improbable that King Edward would have taken with him a broken or damaged relic however potent it may have been regarded, and it is altogether more likely that any injury which may have befallen it was done during the confusion in the English camp that must have followed upon the death of the king, or in the hurried return of the valuables to London. At any rate the next reference to the cross which has been met with in the public records is that obligingly handed me by the late Professor Tout. This occurs in the enrolled account of Robert de Wodehouse, master of the Wardrobe and Household for the 20th Edw. II. (1327). The entry is as follows :—

De Cruce Gneith existente in capella de Turre London.  
ubi memorialia regis que sunt in custod' Thes. et Contr. Scacc.

Next comes the purchase of a sapphire for the Croyce Gneyth noted by the writer of the *Tablet* article as having taken place in the 12th Edw. III. (1339). The price paid for this stone was £50, a sum representing at the present day between six and seven hundred pounds, and it may have been made with a view to the restoration and beautifying of the cross, though that work was delayed for fourteen years later. Perhaps the funds necessary for the French war which was just about to open compelled the postponement of all unnecessary expenditure, and it probably was not for some years after the battle of Crecy and the creation of the English duchy of Aquitaine for the Black Prince that money was sufficiently plentiful to permit of a return to the proposals of earlier years. However, in the 26th year of Edward the Third (1353) the cross was entrusted to the King's goldsmith, Richard de Grimsby, for thorough restoration and enrichment. It is the cost of this transaction that is now presented to the student.

It should always be borne in mind that the present

production is no more than a late 19th century copy of the original, and as such it must be accepted with all the possible defects incident to imperfect transcription and erroneous readings. On the other hand, inasmuch as the original cannot now be produced, and until it can be produced, the transcript has to be taken (up to the measure of its imperfections) as the only known substitute for that original, and, in effect, as its temporary equal in value for the ordinary requirements of scholars. Therefore, with all the foregoing circumstances taken into consideration, it has been thought best to produce the transcript just as it stands, without any attempt to lengthen the contractions or correct the possible errors which may prove to be the errors of the transcriber; and for the same reason no translation of the document has been attempted. The omission of the latter will probably occasion little difficulty.

My transcript is as follows :—

[*P.R.O., Exchequer of Receipt. Miscellaneous Rolls,*  
*No. 90, 26 Edw. III.*]

Compot Ric' de Grym'esby.

Ceux sont le p'celles q' Ric' de Grymesbi ad resen al fesaute del  
Crois Neit comensant.....ang' le xij<sup>me</sup> io're Sept' lan  
xxvj<sup>me</sup> qest p' acompt' un an 't viij mois.

En p'mes le dit Ric' rescent p'.....Tresurer.....  
.....ter' xx*l*. xijs. iij*d*. de pois dor de carecte le l'i del auand'te  
or a xij*l*. q' fait en tout.....ccxlviij*l*. vi[ij].....

xij die Maii anno xxvto.

It'm le dit Ric' rescent a la fesur' del dit Crois en vessel dargent  
debruse p' deux foitz.....xvj [*l*.] xjxs. *vd*.

vij die Nou' anno xxvjto.

It'm le dit Ric' rescent ala fesur' del dit Crois p' un Taile a S'r Rob't  
de Milderhale xxx*l*.

xij die Ap'lis ann' xxvjto.

It'm le dit Ric' rescent sur la fesur' del Pee le Croys Neyt....(hole)  
....Taille a S'r Rob't Mildenhale iij<sup>xx</sup>ij*l*. xs. de les quex iij<sup>xx</sup>ij*l*.  
xs. le dit Ric' rescent le l'i dor al compliment' del d'ce crois q'  
amonte a es. de pois le l'i a x*l*.

s'e'do die Dec' anno xxvjto.

It'm le dit Ric' ressent de S'r William Mosie xxvjs. d'or de pois le s.  
a xs. qest p' accompte xiiij*l*/i.

xxvij die Ap'l' anno xxvjto.

It'm le dit Ric' rescent p'r un Egle acheter a la dit Croys Neyt  
xiiij*l*/i. vjs. viij*d*.

xxj die Julii anno xxvjto.

It'm le dit Ric' ressent a la fesur' del Croys Neit xlix*l*/i. ijs. viij*d*.

x<sup>me</sup> die Dec' anno xxvjto.

It'm le dit Ric' ad ressu al fesur' del pee del dit Croye p' un Taille a  
S'r Rob't Mildenhale xxx*l*/i.

It'm il recent ala Receit' de leschequer le xjx<sup>me</sup> jo'r de Decemb' lan  
xxvijme. xl*l*/i.

S'ma total' rec' aur'a 't argent' cxxij*l*/i. vs. ix*d*.

cxxij*l*/i. vs. ix*d*.

Ceux sont les costages q' Ric' de Grymesby susdit ad fait a les  
ou'eres sui la Croys susdit 't autres choses p'tineantes au dit Croys  
p' un an enteir 't viij mois. En p'mes le dit Ric' ad delivere a Thom.  
Lanc' eidant sur le pee susdit p' xvij mois xxxvj*l*/i. q' fac'e en la mois  
xij escutz. It'm a hauekyn mons [?] un autre ou'er p' xvij mois  
xvij*l*/i. en le mois vj escutz. It'm a h'brye de Colonye p' xxiij mois.  
xliij*l*/i. en le mois xij escutz. It'm a Rodger de Colonye p' xij mois  
xxvj*l*/i. en le mois xij escutz. It'm a Rob't Sauage eidant p' xvij  
mois xvij*l*/i. en le mois vj escutz. It'm a Hauekyn de Almanye p'  
x mois xiiij*l*/i. vjs. viij*d*. en le mois viij escutz. It'm a Hanelyn de  
Colonye ou'aut p' vj mois xij*l*/i. en le mois xij escutz. It'm a macis  
son fere p' vj mois vj*l*/i. en le mois vj escutz. It'm a Gerard de  
Almanye ou'aut p' iij mois iiij*l*/i. en la mois viij escutz. It'm a  
Edward Jueler ou'aut p' ij moys 't d'i es. en le mois xij escutz.  
It'm a iij Burnysours sur le dit pee p' un mois lxs. en le mois xxs.  
a les auanditz iij Burnisours.

S'm<sup>a</sup> cuij<sup>x</sup>iiij*l*/i. vjs. viij*d*.

It'm le dit Ric' ad achate xxxiiij perles p'r la dit Crois p' xjs. iiij*d*.  
p's del Pesse iiij*d*. It'm en lxiiij peres achatez p' le dit Ric' de  
rubiez 't demeraudes v marc' p'r del pes xij*d*. ob. It'm En foile de  
susinenre lez peres del dit Crois v marc' 't d'i. It'm en un hanper  
achate p' le dit crois xs. It'm en le dorrure del pee au du ditz viij  
nobles dor. It'm en exp'nc de l'autres a Wyndeson'e ou le crois Nect  
p' deux foitz des hom'es 't des chenaes xxxvjs. It'm p' un egle  
achate 't deliuere a les chamb'leynes del Eschequer xiiij*l*/i. vjs.

S'm<sup>a</sup> xxvj*l*/i. xvijs. iiij*d*.

It'm le dit Ric' ad deliuere a les Chamb'leynes susditz le dit pee del  
auandit Crois poissant dor 't dec' p'cious pieres xxvj*l*/i. xvijs. vj*d*. de

qel pois p'ciouses q'est xjs. vjd. de pois dont le dit pois dor fait p' acompute ccxv*l*i. xijs. le l'i. a xij*l*i.

S'm<sup>a</sup> ccxv*l*i. xijs. [xviijs. struck through].

It'm le dit Ric' ad delinere a lez auanditz Chamb'leynes xl*l*i. iijs. iiij*d*. de pois dargent en le pee le dit Croys Neyt q' fait p' accompte xj*l*i. viijs. jxd. le l'i de pois a xxijs. vjd. dacompte.

S'm<sup>a</sup> xj*l*i. viijs. jxd

It'm en deschece del or en le pee de Crois Neyt q' poise xxvj*l*i. de chescun ounce del auandit or en deschese ijd. de pois q' fait en tut lijs. p' poys q' fait en accompte xxxj*l*i. iijs. le s' a xijs.

S'm<sup>a</sup> xxxj*l*i. iijs.

S'm<sup>a</sup> to'l expen. .clxvii*l*i. viijs. jxd.

Et debent<sup>r</sup> eide' Ric'o xlvj*l*i. iijs. de quib'z satisfc'm est ei ut patet in p'celle t'cio die Maii anno xxvij<sup>o</sup>.

*In margin.* Sm<sup>a</sup> to' exp'n clxvii*l*i. viijs. jxd.

Et sic h'et suppl' xlvj*l*i. iijs.

*Endorsement—defective.* -ymesby aurifabr' dui R. de f'eura pedis crucis R. vocata la Croice. ....

*Endorsed in a late hand (? that of Mr. C. Deron).* Repairs, etc., of the Jewel called the Cross of Saint Neot's on which the Kings of Scotland were sworn, 26 Edw. 3.

The following abstract thrown into tabular form will perhaps be of service :—

*Received for work on the Croes Neit.*

Received from the Treasurer gold to the			
value of £20 12 3, at the			
rate of £12 per lb. (troy) ...	£247	7	0
„ a silver vessel broken in two			
parts ... ..	16	19	5
„ by warrant on Sir R. Mildenhale	30	0	0
„ „ „	82	10	0
„ „ on Sir W. Mosie ...	13	0	0
„ for the purchase of [the figure			
of] an eagle ... ..	13	6	8
„ „ „ „ „	49	2	8
„ by warrant on Sir R. Mildenhale	30	0	0
„ „ on the Exchequer	40	0	0
	522	5	9 <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The total of the receipts on the above account is carried down as £122 5s. 9d., and there can be little doubt of the figures being correctly copied, as they are repeated immediately below the earlier entry. It is, of course, possible that I may have missed a mark or letter representing the multiple 5 above the c. (100); but it is

*Expenditure.*

Wages of workmen engaged on the Cross, and work connected  
(*pertineantes*) therewith:—

Thomas Lancius—18 months ...	...	£36	0	0	
Hauekyn Moies [ <i>? Mons</i> ] <i>—17 months</i>		17	0	0	
Herbric of Cologne	22 „	44	0	0	
Roger of Cologne	13 „	26	0	0	
Robert Savage	18 „	18	0	0	
Hauekyn of Germany	10 „	13	6	8	
Hauekyn of Cologne	6 „	12	0	0	
Macis, his brother	6 „	6	0	0	
Gerard of Germany	3 „	4	0	0	
Edward jeweller [ <i>? of</i> Juliers]	2½ „	5	0	0	
Three burnishers	1 „	3	0	0	
					184 6 8
34 pearls at 4 <i>d.</i> each ...	...	11	4		
64 rubies and emeralds at 12½ <i>d.</i> each ...	...	3	6	8	
holders ( <i>foille de susincure</i> ) for do. ...	...	3	13	4	
a case ( <i>hanper</i> ) for the cross ...	...	10	0		
fitting the foot ( <i>pee</i> ) to the above, 8 nobles ...	...	2	13	4	
taking the Crois Neet to Windsor ( <i>a</i> <i>Wyndesou'e</i> ) ...	...	1	16	0	
an eagle bought and delivered to the chamberlains of the exchequer ...	...	13	6	8	
					25 17 4
					210 4 0

*Deductions.*

Value of silver in the foot of the Croys Neyt delivered to the Chamberlains of the Exchequer ...	...	11	8	9	
Value of gold in ditto ...	...	31	4	0	
					42 12 9
					167 11 3
Add: Precious stones remaining over ...	0	11	6		
Alteration in account £315 18 0, allowed as £315 12 0 ...	...	0	6	0	
					0 17 6
					£168 8 9

more probable that the difference of £400 is the amount written off against work in hand other than the Welsh Cross; just as the figures of £82 10s. 0*d.* received from Sir R. Mildenhale on the 13th April, 1352, are definitely stated to include only £10 for the Croes Nawdd.

Total cost ... ..	£168	8	9
Of which there appears in the account for May, 27th year ...	46	3	0
	<hr/> £122 5 9		

The value of the cross when handed to the King's goldsmith was accounted for by him at £247 7s. 0d. When the work was completed it was estimated at £315 18s. 0d., afterwards altered to £315 12s. 0d.

The subsequent history of the Welsh cross does not appear to be recorded under any distinctive appellation, and its ultimate fate is unknown. After its restoration it would doubtless be taken into the charge of the treasurer of the royal household, and it would gradually lose the title by which it had been known to earlier custodians. It is certainly not probable that with the enhancement of its intrinsic value by the work of Richard de Grimsby and his foreign craftsmen it would be deprived of its special virtue, the fragment of the cross of Olivet, to enrich the earthly crown of even so venerated a personage as St. Edward the Confessor, as has been suggested by the writer to the *Tablet*.

Far more likely is it that the following entry amongst a catalogue of the Crown jewels of the period of Henry VI. relates to the Welsh relic :—

A small cross of gold enamelled with green, having there-upon 32 pearls; with a foot of gold; weighing  $7\frac{1}{2}$  oz., valued at 26s. 8d. per oz ... .. £10 0 0<sup>1</sup>

Finally, a few words should be said concerning the association of the Welsh cross with St. Neot. This saint is totally unconnected with Wales, and no pre-Reformation Welsh church is dedicated to him. According to Bond there were only four English dedications to St. Neot; one

<sup>1</sup> In the same list is "a sword garnished with ostrich feathers in gold, and sometime of the princes of Wales; valued at £13 6s. 8d." The association of ostrich feathers with the cognizance of the princes of Wales, though striking, is probably to be explained by the princes being those of the English line.

in Cornwall, where there is a parish of the same name, another church and parish is in Huntingdonshire, and I have met the place-name in the North of England—I think in Yorkshire. It will have been noticed that the name given to the relic by the officials whose duty was to give account of it on different occasions is always something that can in no wise be adduced from or connected with Neot. It is Gneyth, Neyht, Gneith, Neygh, Neit and Neyt, and there can be little doubt that these various forms represent the best that English officialdom could do to represent the Welsh *Nawdd* which at that period would have taken the form *neud* with the *d* sounded as *dd*. The chroniclers would probably have no opportunity of hearing the native pronunciation, and, being monks or clerics, would tend to attribute a traditional religious origin to so famous a relic. From Neyt (the form in the transcript) they would naturally make Neot, and a saint could easily be found to father a profitable possession. As regards the references of the Welsh bards to a *croes nawdd*, it should be remembered that while every cross is in a strictly religious sense a cross of refuge, there is no reason for thinking that the poetic references are to the specific cross once a treasured relic in the regalia of the Welsh princes of Gwynedd.

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# Goronwy Owen and the College of William and Mary.

By B. BOWEN THOMAS, M.A., COLEG HARLECH.

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GORONWY OWEN was settled as a curate in Northolt, Middlesex, by July 15th, 1755.<sup>1</sup> He had been disappointed by Richard Morris. The scheme for establishing a secretaryship of the Cymmrodorion, involving some translating duties, together with a possibility of a Welsh chaplaincy, had come to nothing. It is small wonder that, after weeks of vain expectation, he accepted this curacy under Dr. Samuel Nicholls, the absentee vicar who held, amongst other appointments, the Mastership of the Temple. Goronwy fared no better here than at Oswestry, Donnington, or Walton. He was paid £50 a year and echoes of his habitual difficulties appear in his letters—poverty and discontent,—while the Morris letters do not fail to emphasise his intemperance and shiftlessness. He bothered them for their good offices, but Lewis Morris was too deeply concerned with his own interests and the affairs of the Cardiganshire lead mines to be encumbered by the cause of an unprofitable acquaintance.<sup>2</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> He secured the curacy sometime between July 4th and July 15th, 1755. See *The Morris Letters*, Edition J. H. Davies, and *The Letters of Goronwy Owen*, Edition J. H. Davies. These throw much light on Goronwy's life from his arrival at Northolt to the eve of his sailing. They have been constantly referred to in the preparation of this paper. See also the article by J. H. Davies in the Goronwy Owen Bicentenary number of the Cymmrodorion Transactions, 1922-3: Goronwy Owen and the Cymmrodorion Society.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Lewis to William, August 2nd, 1755, *Morris Letters*, vol. i, p. 369.

September 6th, 1756, Lewis reported to William that Goronwy was in danger of losing his curacy on account of drunkenness and debt, and his distressful condition received some confirmation from Goronwy himself. A letter dated October 14th, 1756, describes the execution of a distress-warrant on the poet's furniture and by January 1st, 1757, matters had reached such a pass that the Vicar had been obliged to withhold his salary in order to meet debts while Goronwy was accused of spending the surplice money in his personal interest. By February 9th of the same year William was harbouring a grudge at Goronwy's failure to return a book which he had borrowed. On March 19th Lewis expressed his despair of Goronwy's ever obtaining a living while, what is worse, throughout the previous months his own expectations of securing the patronage of the Earl of Powis had been unrealised. Finally, by September 24th, 1757, Lewis's enthusiasm for publishing Goronwy's poems was flagging and he feared that any money collected to meet the cost of publishing would be spent on drink if it were handed over to him. The Morris brothers were no benefactors during these two years. Richard had already failed him: Lewis was too astutely selfish to urge his suit upon "the great", while William, in remote Anglesey, listened to his brothers and nursed a grievance for the loss of his book. After his departure to Virginia Goronwy felt no sense of obligation to them, while all three brothers were conscience stricken to some degree, and time and again complained of his silence. Apart from the letter of July 23rd, 1767, to Richard there is no evidence that he wrote to them. This was not entirely due to Goronwy's ingratitude.

There is another side to the story of these years, and it is partly read in Goronwy's letters. Naturally, he was not concerned to parade his vices, but they lead to the inevitable conclusion that his relations with his Vicar

were by no means as strained as the Morris brothers would believe.<sup>1</sup> In his letter to William on December 29th, 1755, he was eminently satisfied with the place. On May 20th, 1756, he cordially invited Richard to Northolt and promised him a friendly chat with the Vicar. On September 27th, 1756, he protested against unkind exaggerations of the disorder of his affairs, emphasising that his troubles had brought his Vicar's finer traits to light and that he had acted with great generosity. Earlier in the year he had taken a sympathetic interest in Goronwy's claims to his patrimony in Anglesey and had looked over a Latin version of his poem to the heir of the Earl of Powis. In the same year, he had started a school with his encouragement and by February 22nd, 1757, he could report considerable progress and unbroken cordiality in his relations with his Vicar. Dr. Nicholls was interested in the forthcoming publication of his poems. In short, the general evidence of Goronwy's letters points to the conclusion that, while his general conduct may have shown little or no improvement, he was in contact with a man who was tolerant of human frailties, sympathetic, kind and desir-

<sup>1</sup> The name of Dr. Samuel Nicholls is spelt variously. In documents it is almost invariably *Nicholls*, but it sometimes appears as *Nicolls*. The following details concerning him are given in *Uenn. Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, part I, vol. iii:

“*Nicolls, Samuel.*

“Adm. sizar (age 18) at Magdalene, Oct. 6th, 1731. Son of Samuel (above), clerk, deceased. Born at North Somercote, Lincs. School: Haberdashers', London. Matric. 1732; B.A. 1735-6; M.A. 1739; LL.D. 1746. Golden lecturer, St. Margaret's, Lothbury, 1740-55. Chaplain to the King, 1746-69 (*sic*). Preb. of St. Paul's, 1749-63. Vicar of Northolt, Middlesex, 1749-63. Master of the Temple, 1753-63. Minister of St. James', Piccadilly, 1759-63. Died Nov. 11th, 1763. Brother of Potter (1724) and William (1709-10). (A. B. Beaven.)”

Further particulars are given in John Nichols' *The Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. viii, p. 418:—

“He published several single sermons—(1) “On the Rebellion”, 1745; Psalm cxii, 8, 9. (2) Before the sons of the

ous of being helpful. Goronwy's last letter from the "Trial" at Spithead was probably written to his Vicar and Richard Morris knew that Dr. Nicholls had heard from him after he had reached Virginia. Finally, it seems to be quite clear that Goronwy's appointment to the Mastership of the Grammar School at the College of William and Mary can be attributed to his Vicar at Northolt, Dr. Samuel Nicholls.

## II.

The Bishop of London was officially interested in Virginia in two capacities, viz., as Metropolitan of the American Colonies and as Chancellor of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. In both capacities he controlled ecclesiastical and educational appointments and corresponded with the Governor of the Colony, with his own commissary, and with the President of the College. During Goronwy's stay at Northolt the Bishop of London was Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761),<sup>1</sup> the Lieutenant-Governor was Robert Dinwiddie (1693-1770), while the Reverend Thomas Dawson acted as both commissary and President of the College of William and Mary. Sherlock had been Bishop of Bangor 1727-34 and was translated from Salisbury to London in 1748. In 1753 his health was seriously affected by a seizure and there

Clergy, 1746, John xix, 26, 27. (3) A Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, 1748, Psalm lvii, 1. (4) For the Irish Protestant Schools, 1749, Isaiah ix, 22. (5) A Farewell Sermon, June 20th. (6) At the Annual Meeting of the Charity Schools, 1756, Psalm lxxviii, 5. (7) A Sermon preached at the Temple Church, Nov. 15th, 1761, on the death of Dr. Thomas Sherlock, late Lord Bishop of London, who departed this life July 18th in the 83 year of his age, 1762. Hebrews xiii, 7".

It is interesting to note that he preached at the Annual Meeting of the Charity Schools in 1756, the year when he encouraged Goronwy to open a school in Northolt.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Dictionary of National Biography*; Article, Thomas Sherlock.

can be no doubt but that the general administration of the diocese, and especially of its colonial affairs, missed his close personal supervision from that year until his death in 1761. It is also evident that during these years of sickness he was helped by Dr. Samuel Nicholls, Vicar of Northolt and Master of the Temple. He had acted as Sherlock's private chaplain and succeeded him as Master of the Temple in November, 1753, while to the end of his days Dr. Nicholls continued to enjoy his friendship and confidence. In 1754 he waited upon Lord Chancellor Hardwicke on his bishop's behalf to present him with a volume of his sermons,<sup>1</sup> and preached his funeral sermon, on his death, while the inscription on Sherlock's gravestone in Fulham Churchyard is attributed to him.<sup>2</sup> These facts point to the intimate relation of the two men and help to explain Nicholls' influence in diocesan administration. In the funeral sermon, while acknowledging Sherlock's tenacious hold upon affairs, he declared :—

“The private flow of his bounty to many individuals was constant and regular, and upon all such occasions he was ever ready to stretch forth his hand towards the needy and afflicted; *of which no one can bear testimony better than myself, whom he often employed as the distributor of it. He was, indeed, a person of great candour and humanity, had a tender feeling of distress, and was easily touched with the misfortune of others*”.<sup>3</sup>

Neither does Sherlock appear to have forgotten his Welsh associations during his Bangor days. His generosity to Welsh curates is singled out for comment by his biographer :—

“His attention to that indigent though hard-working class of men, the Welsh curates, appears from the two following letters . . . .”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1762, p. 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> T. S. Hughes. *The Works of Bishop Sherlock*, vol. i, p. 53.

In fact, when the appointment at the College of William and Mary fell vacant, Dr. Nicholls remembered his curate at Northolt; he knew of his misfortunes; he had learned to recognise his genius and abilities both as poet and schoolmaster. He arranged to offer him the post with his Bishop's consent; he urged the charms and attractions of Virginia upon him, and when Goronwy accepted even offered him the services of his own cook—"merch o Veirion"<sup>1</sup>—to help him set up home with dignity in Williamsburg.

### III.

The College of William and Mary received its Charter in 1693 and by 1729 was organised in the three departments which existed in Goronwy's time and persisted to the early years of the present century. The College proper, which contained a Philosophy and Divinity School, had as its full complement a staff consisting of a President and four Professors, two of Philosophy and two of Divinity. The Grammar School and the Indian School, each under a separate master, completed the institution. White children were taught in the former; coloured children in the latter, and the Charter provided for annual transfers to the higher department, which also drew its students from the whole range of the Southern States. The College faculty included the President, the professors and the two masters, but in the eighteenth century all the appointments were rarely filled. The President occupied one of the chairs and Goronwy Owen, although elected to the Mastership of the Grammar School and consistently described as such in the Journal of the President and Masters, was sometimes designated as Professor of Humanity and he probably discharged the duties of both offices. In Goronwy Owen's time the staff of the College

<sup>1</sup> *Morris Letters*, vol. ii, p. 31.

did not exceed four in number, viz., the President, Thomas Dawson, a Professor of Philosophy, also referred to as a Professor of Morals, (William Preston, resigned 1758 and succeeded by Jacob Rowe), the Master of the Grammar School (Goronwy Owen), and the Master of the Indian School (Emmanuel Jones).<sup>1</sup>

The Charter and Statutes of the College of William and Mary were first promulgated in June, 1727, but they were issued with amendments in 1758. The following extracts will illustrate the position of the Grammar School and its relation to the general foundation.

Three terms were kept, viz., Hilary, which began on the first Monday after Epiphany and ended on the Saturday before Palm Sunday; Easter Term which began on Monday after the first Sunday after Easter and ended on the evening of the Saturday before Whitsuntide, and Trinity Term which began on the Monday after Trinity and ended on December 16th.

The status of the Grammar School was defined as follows :—

“ To the school belongs a schoolmaster and if the number of scholars require it an usher. The Schoolmaster is one of six masters of whom with the President and scholars the College consists. But the usher is not reckoned a member of that Body. Let there be paid a yearly salary to the schoolmaster 80 pounds sterling<sup>2</sup> and 20 shillings from each scholar by the year when there is no usher. But if there be an usher too in that school let

<sup>1</sup> His Welsh affiliations are more apparent than real. He was the son of the Rev. Emmanuel Jones, who emigrated from London in 1700, and was minister of Petsworth parish until his death, January 29th, 1738. His son, Emmanuel, was a student and usher at the College of William and Mary and later became Master of the Indian School. He acted as College Librarian, and according to the Minutes of the Journal of the President and Masters, was allowed 10 per cent. on the sale of all books.

<sup>2</sup> “ £150 pounds sterling ” in 1758 version..

15 shillings be paid to the master and 5 shillings to the usher and for a yearly salary let there be paid to the usher 50 pounds sterling.<sup>1</sup> But from the poor scholars who are upon any charitable foundation neither the master nor usher are to ask any school wages but are to be taught gratis. In the Grammar School let the Latin and Greek tongues be well taught, *we assign 4 yrs to the Latin and 2 to the Greek.*<sup>2</sup> As for Rudiments and Grammars and Classick authors of each Tongue let them teach the same books which by law or custom are used in the Schools of England. Nevertheless we allow the Schoolmaster the Liberty if he has any observations on Latin or Greek grammars or any of the authors that are taught in his school that with the approbation of the President he may dictate them to the scholars. Let the master take special care that if the author is never so well approved on other accounts he teach no such part of him to his scholars as insinuates anything against religion or good morals. *And because nothing contributes so much to the learning of languages as dayly Dialogues and familiar speaking together in the languages they are learning, let the master therefore take care that out of the colloquies of Corderius and Erasmus and others who have employed their labours this way the scholars may learn aptly to express their meaning to each other, and if there are any sort of Plays or Diversions in use among them which are not to be found extant in any printed books let the master compose and dictate to scholars colloquies fit for such sort of Plays that they may learn at all times to speak Latin in apt and proper terms.*<sup>3</sup>

“Special care likewise must be taken of their morals that none of the scholars presume to tell a lie or curse or swear or to take or do anything obscene or quarrel and

<sup>1</sup> “£75 pounds sterling” in 1758 version.

<sup>2</sup> “We . . . Greek”, omitted in 1758.

<sup>3</sup> “And . . . terms”, omitted in 1758.



fight or play at cards or dice or set in to drinking or do anything else that is contrary to good manners. And that all such faults may be so much more early detected the master shall chuse some of the most trusty scholars both for Publick and *Clandestine*<sup>1</sup> observators to give him an account of all such Transgressions and according to the degrees of heynousness of the crime let the discipline be used without respect of persons.

“ As to the method of Teaching and of the Government of the School let the usher be obedient to the Master in everything as to his superior.

“ On Saturdays and the Eves of Holydays let a sacred lesson be prescribed out of Castellio's or Brehanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms (or any other good book which the President and Master shall approve of)<sup>2</sup> according to the capacities of the Boys of which an account is to be taken on Monday and the next day after Holydays.

“ The Master shall likewise take care that all the scholars learn the Church of England Catechism in the vulgar tongue and that they who are farther advanced learn it likewise in Latin.

“ Before they are promoted to the Philosophy School they who aim at the Privileges and Revenue of a Foundation Scholar must first undergo an examination before the President and Masters and Ministers skilful in the learned languages ; whether they have made due progress in their Latin and Greek and let the same examination be undergone concerning their progress in the study of Philosophy before they are promoted to the Divinity School. And let no Blockhead or lasy Fellow in his studies be elected.

“ If the Revenues of the College for the Scholars are so well before hand that they are more than will serve three candidates in Philosophy and as many in Divinity

<sup>1</sup> “ And clandestine ”, omitted in 1758.

<sup>2</sup> “ or any . . . approved of ” added in 1758.

then what is left let it be bestowed on beginners in the Grammar School ”.

The following general rules for the Grammar School boys were agreed upon in 1754 and had not been rescinded in Goronwy's day :—

- “ Ordered 1st that no Boy shall be permitted to saunter away his time upon any of the college steps, or to be seen during School Hours, under a severe admonition from the President or any of the Masters ”.
- “ Ordered 2nd that no Boy presume to go into the Kitchen or cause any Disturbance there under a severe punishment from the President or any of the Masters ”.
- “ Ordered 3rd that the Boys regularly attend Dinner and Supper in the Hall, and the Housekeeper be strictly charged and commended not to allow any victuals whatever to be sent into Private Rooms to any Boys excepting to such as are really sick ”.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the character of the institution in which Goronwy Owen was invited to serve in the autumn of 1757.

#### IV.

As far as can be deduced from official sources the vacancy arose in the following manner. On May 20th, 1757, the Visitors and Governors of the College passed a resolution declaring that the Rev. Thomas Robinson “ is incapable of discharging the duties of his office as Master of the Grammar School ”. This was strengthened by a request to the Bishop of London to appoint a successor in the following terms :—

“ Upon consideration thereof it is the opinion of the Visitors that another master be speedily provided. . . . and that because the Visitors have observed that the appointing of a clergyman to be Master of the Grammar School has often proved a means of the School's being neglected in regard of his frequent avocations as a minister that therefore his Lordship will be pleased that the person to be sent over be a

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<sup>1</sup> “ The Journal of the President and Masters of William and Mary College ”, Williamsburg, Va.

Layman, if such a one may be procured; but if not, a clergyman".<sup>1</sup>

The terms of this resolution appear to have been communicated immediately to the Bishop of London by the President of the College, the Rev. Thomas Dawson. At least, Thomas Robinson was of this opinion as in a letter dated June 30th, 1757, he enters a long protest against the charges of inefficiency and encloses a statement in his favour signed by William Preston, who was one of the Professors of Philosophy, Emmanuel Jones, the Master of the Indian School, Richard Graham and John Caum, who in later years was in regular correspondence with the Bishop on Church affairs in Virginia.<sup>2</sup> The College of William and Mary was evidently divided against itself.

At first sight it would appear that the Bishop of London did not act expeditiously in the matter, but the remoteness of Virginia and the difficulties of communications should be taken into account. He would not receive Dawson's communication until August and while he could proceed with enquiries regarding suitable candidates and tentatively fill the post he would be obliged to await the Governors' confirmation of the vacancy before despatching the chosen candidate. Goronwy was approached in October and by October 11th, 1757,<sup>3</sup> it was practically certain that he would accept. It is difficult to explain the delays of the next few weeks without assuming that his departure was contingent upon the receipt of the Governors' letter. Actually Dinwiddie's letter is dated September 12th, 1757, and is couched in the following terms:—

“ The Visitors of the College and indeed the Co'try in genl have for many years been dissatisfied with the Behav'r of the Professor of Philo and the M'r of the Grammar School, notoriously on acc't of Intemperance and Irregularity laid to

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<sup>1</sup> “ The Minutes of the Visitors and Governors of William and Mary College ”, *Fulham Palace*, Virginia MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *Fulham Palace*, Virginia MSS. <sup>3</sup> *Morris Letters*, vol. ii, p. 31.

y'r charge but also because they had married and cont'y to all Rules of Seats of Learn'g kept their wives Child'n and Serv'ts in College, w'ch must occas'n much confus'n and disturbance. And the Visitors having frequently express'd y'r disapprobat'n of y'r families rem'ng in College, ab't a year ago they remov'd 'em into Town, and since y't time as if they had a mind to show their Contempt of the Visitors they have lived much at Home and negligently att'd Y'r Duty in College. In a Meet'n therefore on the 20th of May last there was a compl't laid before 'em of Y'r Neglect of Duty and Immoral conduct being often drunk and very bad Example to the Students on w'ch it was ord'd Y't the President sh'd write to Y'r L'd'p to be so kind as to recom'd and send over two proper persons in Y'r Room ''.<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop would not receive this letter until late November or early December. In the meanwhile Goronwy and his family had been held up pending its receipt. On November 2nd he addressed his appeal for assistance to the Cymnrodorion and Richard Morris refrained from presenting it. On November 14th he and his family had embarked but weeks passed in restless expectation for instructions to sail. References to the ship which he joined in London are vague. Lewis Morris mentions an "Ysgraff, Captain Charon" on November 14th, 1757, but he sailed eventually in "The Trial". It seems as though his discomfort was increased by more than one change of ship as it is difficult to believe that a ship which was ready to sail in the second week of November would delay for a month in the interests of an impecunious curate and his family who were emigrating to America. Further, there is proof that Capel Hanbury, the Quaker merchant, who was deeply involved in the Virginian trade, gave him constant help during these days.

Eventually the appointment was officially sanctioned and soon after December 12th, 1757, "The Trial" slipped away from Spithead bearing Goronwy into further tribulation.

<sup>1</sup> *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. II, p. 696-698.

## V.

He arrived at Williamsburg in March, 1758, having lost his wife and a son at sea, but his troubles were by no means ended. The Rev. Thomas Robinson protested against his supercession and the President was obliged to take strong measures to secure his quarters for the new arrival.

“March 23, 1758. The President sent to Mr. Robinson and desired the keys of the Grammar Master’s apartment in order to put Mr. Owen in possession of them. Mr. Robinson refused, and said that nobody had a better right to these chambers than himself. Upon refusal, the President ordered Hasps with Staples and Paddlocks to be put upon the Doors of the several apartments and Schools and two new Locks upon the Wicket doors”.<sup>1</sup>

On April 5th, Goronwy commenced his new duties with the President’s authority as his sanction. On April 7th, the Staff met, and Gorenwy, in the presence of the President and Emmanuel Jones, Master of the Indian School, subscribed to the articles of the Church of England and took the oath “*de fidei Administratione*” in the following terms:—

- “1.—That the King’s Majesty under God is the only Supream Governor of this Realm and of all other his Highness Dominions and Countries as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or causes or Temporal and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within his Majesty’s said Realm, Dominions or Countries”.
- “2.—That the Book of Common Prayer and of ordering Bishops, Priests and Deacons containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God and that it lawfully may so be used and that I myself will use the form in the said book prescribed in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and no other”.
- “3.—That I allow the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Ab’ps of both Provinces and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the Year of our Lord

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<sup>1</sup> “The Journal of the President and Masters”.

God one thousand five hundred sixty and two, and that I acknowledge all and every the articles therein contained being in number nine and thirty besides the Ratification to be agreeable to the Word of God".<sup>1</sup>

Matters seem to have run their normal course for some time. Williamsburg would not be lacking in interest. Virginian and colonial politics were entering a critical stage. Patrick Henry was already fulminating in the House of Burgesses to be joined by George Washington in 1759. Washington had supervised the management of the property of William and Mary College for some years, while in the spring of 1760 Thomas Jefferson was admitted as a student. It is true that he fails to mention Goronwy in his Diary but he must have attended his classes. He merely expresses his gratitude that Jacob Rowe, the Professor of Philosophy, Goronwy's colleague, was superseded by Dr. Small, for whom he had a profound regard.<sup>2</sup> There is every fear that were he pressed for a statement his comment upon Goronwy would be equally uncomplimentary. However, Goronwy did not neglect to attend the official staff meetings of the College. Here College affairs were discussed: discipline, the appointment of ushers, the yield of College property, and reports on the tobacco plantations, etc. For 1758 the meetings were held on June 17th, 20th, August 15th, October 11th, 18th, December 14th, and Goronwy was present on each occasion. In the meeting of June 17th William Preston was succeeded as Professor of Philosophy by Jacob Rowe. Goronwy thereby lost an enemy and gained an undesirable friend. Some time between August and October Goronwy married Mrs. Clayton, the President's sister, who was also the College Matron. In 1759 official staff

<sup>1</sup> "The Journal of the President and Masters".

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Memorial Edition, vol. i, p. 3:

"Fortunately, the Philosophy Chair became vacant soon after my arrival at the College".

meetings were held on March 30th, August 28th, October 28th, and December 10th, and Goronwy is reported present at each one. The minutes of the meeting, August 28th, however, contain the entry :—

“Mrs. Martha Bryan appointed Housekeeper of the College in place of Mrs. Owen deceased ”.

Goronwy is a widower for the second time, but fortunately with no increased family responsibilities.

The year 1760 was fraught with grave responsibilities for members of the College staff. Internal dissensions had been a feature of Thomas Dawson's Presidency. In 1755 he had quarrelled violently with his staff and when accused of drunkenness confessed that “he had been teased to desperation by persons of his own cloth”. Goronwy entered the College under equally inauspicious circumstances, while the verdict of Dawson's biographer when he died in 1760-1 was : “It is much to be feared he fell a victim to the repeated marks of ingratitude and malice which he unhappy man too frequently experienced in his passage through his state of probation”.<sup>1</sup> Matters did not improve during Goronwy's time although no trace of irregularities crept into the Journal of the President and Masters. In 1760 Goronwy was present at each meeting : February 21st, March 13th, April 19th, and lastly on June 27th. When the next meeting was held on September 25th he was absent.

The story of the significant events of these months may be gleaned from the minutes of the meetings of the Visitors and Governors of William and Mary College. On March 31st, 1760, they considered the unfavourable reports on the conduct of Jacob Rowe, but the matter was deferred until April 25th for an enquiry into his conduct and that of the masters in general. On April 25th “several matters were now objected against Mr. Rowe

<sup>1</sup> *The Virginia Gazette*, January, 1761.

and Mr. Owen and one of the members also objected against the President of the College''. The matter was deferred until the morrow in order that all allegations should be reduced to writing. On April 26th they were officially stated in the following terms : " That Mr. Rowe one of the Professors of Philosophy, and Mr. Owen, Professor of Humanity, have been often seen scandalously drunk in College and in the public streets of Williamsburg and York. That the said Mr. Rowe and Mr. Owen frequently utter horrid oaths and execrations in their common conversation. . . . Mr. Rowe is undermining the discipline of the President of the College and Mr. Owen has been guilty of the same behaviour ''.

From this point onwards " Mr. Owen " is not referred to in the official records. On April 30th, Jacob Rowe alone appears before the Visitors and Governors and pleads guilty to the charges of drunkenness and uttering oaths, but denies insubordination. The same is true of the meeting on May 2nd, when Rowe was subjected to a solemn oration and promised reform. It appears as though Goronwy's brother-in-law, the President of the College, in virtue of his official position and having escaped condemnation himself, was able to temper the wind to the shorn lamb, but this was to be of no avail. On August 14th the minutes of the meeting of Governors again report that Mr. Rowe " did lately lead the boys against the Town Apprentices to a Pitched Battle with Pistols and other Weapons instead of restraining and keeping them in as was the duty of his office to have done''. He was summarily deprived of his office, but although subsequent events seemed to indicate that Goronwy was implicated in this escapade he escaped the attention of the Governors and Visitors. The minutes of the Journal of the President and the Masters for September 25th throw light on his fate. Thomas Dawson and Emmanuel Jones are alone



reported present, as on the day when Goronwy first entered upon his office. The entry runs : “ The Revd. Mr. William Webb (at a meeting of the Visitors and Governors held the 14th August, 1760) having been elected Master of the Grammar School in the place of the Revd. Goronwy Owen *who resigned* did this day enter upon his said office ”.

It is followed by another : “ That in compliance with an order of the Governors and Visitors of the College dated 14th August, 1760, the Revd. Jacob Rowe is unanimously desired to remove himself and his effects from the College by Monday, the 29th instant ”.

Goronwy had evidently chosen to escape dismissal by resignation. On August 25th, 1760, he was at St. Andrews, Brunswick County, Virginia, presenting the Governors' credentials for the living. His arrival placed the members of the Vestry in a serious dilemma for they had already committed themselves to the Reverend Patrick Lunan. A year passed before he was in undisputed possession and entering upon his luckless and last phase.

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## APPENDIX.

It is difficult to reach definite conclusions on the question of Goronwy Owen's debts to the College of William and Mary. The extant entries in the Bursar's Book read :—

p. 35. Revd Mr Gronow Owen	Dr.
To 1 year Board of his Son	13 — —
— 152 days do of do	5 8 4
To board of his son 1 year	5 — —
— Do of Do 152 days	2 1 8
	<hr/>
	25 10 —

On the credit side

Contra..... Cr.

By the amount carr<sup>d</sup> to his acc<sup>t</sup> in Ledger A<sup>1</sup>

£25 10 —

p. 43. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Robt and Gronow Owen Drs.

To the Table for Board, etc., viz.

V 35

Contra Cr.

1760. Dec. 22. By Mr Owen's acc<sup>n</sup> with the College

£18 8 4."

This latter is drawn through and apparently deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Ledger A is missing.

# Some Records of the Free Grammar School of Deythur, in the County of Montgomery, 1690-1900.

By COLNEY CAMPBELL.

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## I.

THE School is situated in a purely agricultural district and in a somewhat isolated position, about half way between Llansantffraid yn Mechain and Arddleen, the distance to the railway station at either place being two and a half miles.

An account of the origin of the School, together with particulars of an investigation undertaken by the High Court of Chancery, and of the following action of the Court, in the period 1839-42, is contained in the Close Roll 1842, 160. I, preserved in the Public Record Office, London, W.C. 2.

Applicants for the production of the Roll should give the reference C54, 12840.

The Roll contains the Indenture made 11th July, 1842, by Order of the Court and in pursuance of an Act of 4 Vict.

The Indenture gives (1) the substance of two Indentures, each dated 2nd July, 1690, regarding the foundation, government, and endowment of the School, and (2) an account of the steps taken by the Court to secure and perpetuate the provisions of the founder. A summary of this material here follows :—

In the year 1690 or earlier, the Honourable Andrew Newport, lord of the manor or lordship of Deythur, had erected a school-house in the township of Llanerchilla in the parish of Llansantffraid, in the said manor.

This tenement, together with two acres of land adjoining it, and a tenement and land then or late in the occupation of Griffith Morris, and situated in the township of Haughton in the county of Montgomery, were to be held of the chief lord of the Soc thereof at the yearly rent of fifteen pence and services as of right accustomed, and were granted by the Honourable Andrew Newport to eight persons, who were to be trustees of the Charity, for the perpetual supply and maintenance of one schoolmaster to instruct the children of the lord and tenants of the manor in reading and writing, and in the Latin or Greek grammar, and all other learning usually taught in a grammar school.

The Right Honourable Francis, Viscount Newport, five other members of the Newport family, Sir U. Corbett of Lognor in the county of Salop, Baronet, and Sir Charles Littleton of Hagley in the county of Worcester, were the trustees and parties of the second part to both of the Indentures of 1690. By this act the Honourable Andrew Newport became founder of the School. He retained in his own hands, and in those of his heirs and assigns being lords or owners of the said manor, the power to appoint and remove such person or persons as he or they should think meet to be schoolmaster, or otherwise.

But in the event of the omission to fill a vacancy which had existed for six months, the trustees or the survivor of them, and the heirs of the survivor or survivors, were to make a suitable appointment.

The founder and his said heirs and assigns were, also, to have power to make rules for the government of the School and schoolmaster, and to visit the School.

It was provided, further, that four, three or two of the last survivors of the trustees should convey the properties to six or more persons and to their heirs for ever, who were to carry out the prescribed uses and trusts.

The second Indenture of 1690 is drawn up between the same parties, and shows that the founder granted to the trustees and to their heirs, for and towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster, certain specified parcels of waste ground of his Manor of Deythur, and that he had consented to the inclosing of those parcels. These were additional to the endowment described in the first Indenture of 1690.

Having recited the provisions of the original grants, the Indenture of 1842 goes on to relate the Court's procedure in connection with the Charity. The proceedings were carried on until the conveyance of the property to fresh trustees in 1842 and the embodiment of the details of the transactions in the fresh Indenture were completed.

As a result of the enquiry, it was found that in or about 1799 an award had been made, by Commissioners appointed under an Act of 28 Geo. III, of specified allotments in exchange for lands of the Charity. These allotments contained, in the whole, forty-eight acres, three roods, and twenty-one perches.

It was also found (1) that the properties of the Charity then consisted of the school house and premises comprised in the Indentures of 1690, of forty-nine acres of land or thereabouts in the township of Llanerchilla in the parish of Llansantffraid, and of eleven acres or thereabouts in the parish of Llandysilio, making a total of sixty acres; (2) that a rent charge of two pounds a year had been paid, by a Mr. Muccleston, out of an estate belonging to him in the parish of Meifod, for many years prior to 1833; and (3) that the estate in the properties of the Charity had become vested in the heir at law or representative of

Thomas Newport, Earl of Bradford (Salop), who was the last survivor of the original trustees, and who died in 1762.

Advertisements having been inserted in local and other publications, giving notice that the representative of the said Earl of Bradford should prove title as trustee of the Charity to the satisfaction of the Court—without effect,—the Court appointed a proper person who, by direction of the Court, conveyed the tenements, lands, premises, and rent charge to fresh trustees approved and appointed by the Court.

The Indenture ends with the statement that it was enrolled 5th December, 1842.

## II.

The honourable founder of the School was a member of the family of the Newports, who were established as lords of High Ercall, Salop, at the end of the fourteenth century. After making this statement, the Rev. R. W. Eyton, in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, adds that he thought it probable that “the family had some hereditary claims to the estate prior to that period; and that Ercall was the *caput* of those vast estates which formed the heritage of the Newports,—a heritage than which none greater has accrued to any single Shropshire family since the advent of the Normans”.

In volume 2 of *Collections relating to Montgomeryshire*, issued in 1869, by the Powysland Club, we are informed that the Manor of Deythur is situate between the Vyrnwy and the Severn, and at the confluence of those rivers; that it contains the parishes of Llandrinio and Llandisilio, the following portions of the parish of Llan-saintffraid, viz., the townships of Collfryn, Llanerchilla, Trederwen-fawr, and Trewylan, and the following portions of the parish of Meifod, viz., the township of

Trefnanney, and parts of the townships of Cwm and Keel (the remaining parts being respectively in the Manors of Ystrad Marchell and Mechan Uchcoed).

At the end of volume 2 of *A History of Wales*, Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A., gives a map which shows the commote of Deuddwr as it was in mediæval times. From this map it appears that the commote, and the manor of 1690, were practically identical. A line drawn from Pontyscawrhdyd on the Vyrnwy to a point on the Severn due west of Criggion would form the western boundary, approximately, whilst the two rivers, right up to their confluence, would constitute the other boundaries.

From the map referred to we see that the modern word *Deytheur*, which was spelt without the second *e* in the Indentures of the Newport Charity, comes from two Welsh words meaning *two* and *water*, respectively.

In 1825, Wm. Ormsby Gore, esquire, was lord of the manor of Deytheur, and had the sole right of presentation to the schoolmastership.

In a Return presented to Parliament in 1873 and published in 1875, the trustees of Deytheur School are shown as holding 60 acres, 24 poles of land of a gross estimated rental of £119 11s. 0d. Discrepancies between statements of the total acreage of the charity-land made at different times by the authorities are noticeable. For example, the Charity Commissioners in their Report of 1902 give it as 57a. 1r. 37p. In the same section of that Report the rental is shown as £107 10s. 0d. per annum, whilst a fixed rent-charge of £2 per annum comes in as an addition to that sum. For the year 1898/9 the rents, less income-tax, are set down at £82 12s. 9d., with an extra sum of £3 12s. 0d. under the head of tithe-rent charges. At the same time, the headmaster's salary appears as £70. While considering these figures, one has to keep in view the fact that they are applicable to the founder's charity only.

The subject of fees paid in respect of boys who are not entitled to free schooling—whether boarders or day-scholars—is not within the scope of this article ; although it is of importance when the prospects and success of the Free School, from the founder's point of view, are under consideration. It would appear, from sufficient evidence upon the point, that the maintenance of the School at the educational level designed by the founder could not be secured from the funds of the Charity alone.

From a Report of the Charity Commissioners issued in 1837 we learn that the schoolmaster's emolument included an endowment of £36 per annum, which was attached to a chapel "near Deythur", in return for which he had been expected to discharge the duties implied by that payment. Ten years later, in another Report, and by another body, we are informed that the two offices had been dissociated, and that the office of incumbent or curate of the chapel could no longer be held by the schoolmaster.

The investigator who framed the Report of 1837 stated that complaints had been made of the inefficient state of the School and of the management of the funds ; whilst in the Report of 1847 it was made evident that the educational attainments of the scholars were unsatisfactory. The nominal master in 1847 is reported to have stated at the inquiry, which had then recently been made, that "the Foundation seems rather to anticipate the wants of a future than to answer the requirements of the present generation", and that "the school-house is most disadvantageously situated, being nearly at one end of the Manor". With regard to the latter of these statements, a reference to the map will show that although the narrow eastern or Llandrinio side of the manor is placed at some disadvantage, the broad western side has but little ground for complaint.



The Report of 1847 goes on to say that the official visitor found that the scholars were assembled, not in the school-house, . . . but in an outbuilding, adjoining the master's stable, which was only 15 by 14 feet in size, was dirty, ill-furnished, and in every respect unsuitable for the purpose. Twenty-two scholars were present, of whom four only could read a chapter of the Bible,—and they did not read correctly. In other subjects very little progress could be seen.

The remarkable efficiency of the School during the headmastership of the Rev. Edward Robinson is well known to the people of the Manor, either from personal knowledge or local repute. All surviving old boys of that period will agree that capacity was marked in every action of that eminent man. In him, bodily and mental vigour were combined in such a degree as to command the respect, not only of the boys, but, also, of all who knew him. Born at Orton in Westmorland in 1826, he passed through Orton school, and became headmaster at Deythur in November, 1855. In 1858 he graduated B.A., and in 1861 M.A., at Dublin University.

His relations with the boys were based on sound principles. Usually, he preserved a genial gravity; but he would at times bend into momentary jocularities. Stern punishment was meted out to every culprit found to have practised deception, or to have defied discipline. On such occasions his manner was uncompromising, determined.

In the cricket field he once laid down the ruling that a fieldsman should never fail to stop a ball that came within his reach, even though it broke his fingers. With dull boys he could be patient: the bright ones received every possible opportunity to advance themselves. By the whole School he was held in respect,—respect which was shown in behaviour rather than in words.

The boarders, some twenty-four in number, received, when in class, their entire instruction from the Head. The day-boys were mainly instructed by Mr. George Robinson, a brother of the Head, and a thoroughly competent, and level headed teacher. The routine of the School work and play went on methodically and successfully.

To Mrs. Robinson, the headmaster's wife, a tribute, offered in all sincerity, is due. Her management of the domestic side of the School proceeded smoothly and effectively. There was no fuss, no confusion. Meals were good in quality, ample in quantity, and always punctually served. On Pancake Day great stacks of the appetising discs made their appearance in the dining room.

The health of the boys was well cared for. This side of the School life refers more particularly to the boarders; but it is a fact that the whole School shared in freedom from any epidemic disease during the period now under consideration, namely, from 1865 to 1870.

A feature of the course of instruction, and one particularly useful to the day-boys, most of whom were either farmers' sons or were closely connected with agricultural interests, was that of agricultural chemistry. This subject was taught by question and answer contained in a book framed by a reliable instructor. One can hardly be wrong in conjecturing that this grounding in scientific method bore good fruit in the lives of those who received it.

The subjects taught at the School were not treated at the high pressure maintained at our modern seminaries. Handwriting received one hour of each day's work. Reading aloud was frequently practised under careful supervision. As a useful diversion, parties were, at least on one or two occasions, given practical instruction in land-surveying, the headmaster conducting the field-work and,

afterwards, demonstrating the mode of arriving at the acreage on the black-board.

On the 29th of May the day-boys would arrive at School with oak-balls in their hats. Usually, they were granted a half-holiday, by way of concession to a time-honoured custom.

The birthday of the headmaster fell on the 1st of May. This was celebrated, on one occasion, by an excursion to the top of Breidden, a hill 1,202 feet above Ordnance datum in height. The unconquerable enthusiasm of the boys enabled them to carry baskets containing lunch to the summit.

There they played cricket, examined Rodney's Pillar at close quarters, and enjoyed the glorious prospect spread around them. Whilst taking lunch and doing justice to Mrs. Robinson's home-made elder-wine, there was a fall of snow. This outing must have been recorded in the memories of those who took part in it as one that was to be kept ever fresh, in order that it might be enjoyed anew from time to time.

By way of generalising, it may be concluded that the free scholars were equipped, during the mastership of the Rev. E. Robinson, with a sound education of a higher-elementary nature, and that those who could pursue their studies farther had the opportunity of reaching a level approximating to that of our modern secondary schools—if experimental science be excluded from view.

In August, 1880, Mr. Robinson relinquished the head-mastership upon becoming Vicar of Penrhos.

The church and vicarage are within a mile of the School, so that there was no violent severance of old relations when the change came about. Later, he was made a trustee of the School; and on 4th November, 1920, death called him away from the well-tilled field of his labour.

Mrs. E. Robinson came of an old Shropshire family. She died 24th May, 1905.

Both are buried in Penrhos churchyard. The church contains a memorial window given by the parishioners and old boys in affectionate remembrance of the honoured master.

In the year 1878 or thereabout nine new trustees, including the Right Hon. William Richard, Baron Harlech, had been appointed; and, at the same time, the properties of the Charity had been vested in the Official Trustee of Charity Lands, "in trust for the Charity". A list of the trustees, published in 1902, shows that three names had been added, to fill vacancies which had occurred in the list of 1878.

On 13th February, 1892, the School was visited by the Hon. W. N. Bruce on behalf of the Charity Commissioners. In his report the visitor stated that the school-rooms and residence "would require some little outlay before boarders could be received or efficient teaching given". There were then 28 scholars, including three boarders, in attendance. The headmaster alluded to "the uncertainty as to the future of the school." He had no assistant master. The School was practically the elementary school for boys in the locality, though it received no grant, and was not inspected. Of the boys in the School, five were under ten years of age, and only two were over fourteen. The attendance was very bad. Of the 35 boys on the books seven had not attended during "that term".

The Inquiry of 1900 followed upon (1) the disapproval by her late Majesty, in Council, of a Report framed by the Charity Commissioners for the reorganisation of the School; (2) a protest forwarded to the Education Department and the Charity Commissioners by the Parish Council of Llansantffraid Deytheur against the building of a new public elementary school until the work then

being done by the Deythur Grammar School had been officially investigated: and (3) resolutions passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Hundred of Deythur and forwarded to the Charity Commissioners. The resolutions ran as follows:—

(1) “ The Deythur Grammar School under the present management does not fulfil the requirements of the district of the Hundred of Deythur ;

(2) “ that the Charity Commissioners be called upon to frame a Scheme by which this endowment may be administered to a greater advantage for the benefit of the children of the Hundred of Deythur ;

(3) “ that the endowment be utilised in giving bursaries and scholarships in the Intermediate Schools of the neighbourhood and a portion of the Elementary School—if it has to be erected—for the benefit of the children of the Hundred of Deythur ”.

The reference made by the Parish Council to a new public elementary school may have been due to a notice issued in November, 1898, by the Education Department to the effect that additional public school accommodation was required in the school district of Llansantffraid Deythur with the contributory district of Llandrinio.

The Inquiry was held in the National schoolroom at Llansantffraid, Montgomeryshire, on 2nd February, 1900. It must be looked upon as an event of great importance to the tenants of the Manor of Deythur and their children, as it gave them the opportunity of expressing their views upon the subject of the administration of the endowment, either direct or by representation, to the Assistant Charity Commissioner who conducted the Inquiry.

The Report of the Commissioners was published in 1902. It is a lengthy document, which gives a survey of the progress of the School, with many interesting and personal touches to brighten the narrative.

It conveys the information that a gymnasium, a playing field of ten acres, and other useful adjuncts figured among the School properties in 1900. The ten-acre field must have been acquired or converted later than the year 1870.

The School was visited by the Assistant Commissioner on the day of the Inquiry, and we learn that the internal arrangements "reflected great credit upon the headmaster"; also, that "were it not that, by dint of great and persistent efforts on the Head's part, he had attracted to the School a considerable number of boarders, it would be impossible for him to remain at the School and make both ends meet". Further, the results of the examinations were "distinctly satisfactory". But, adds the Assistant Commissioner, the emoluments and board and lodging of the two assistant masters and two student monitors appear to swallow up more than the endowment.

Turning to the comparative numbers of scholars on the books, it is found that in 1875 there were 54 day-boys and 24 boarders; in 1892, 32 day-boys and three boarders; in 1900, 16 children of the manor and 25 others. With regard to the numbers in 1875 and 1892, the term "day-boys" would include a small number of boys whose parents were not tenants of the Manor, whilst the term "boarders" would cover a few whose parents were such tenants. For practical purposes the figures may be deemed to indicate boys entitled, and not entitled, to free education under the founder's endowment, respectively.

The Assistant Commissioner found a difficulty in understanding the force of an intimation made at the Inquiry of 1900 to the effect that while the School was under the charge of the Rev. Ed. Robinson it was in a flourishing state; his view being seemingly based upon the inadequacy of the assistant teaching staff in the year

1875 in the light of the subjects of instruction, which consisted of Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Drawing, and the ordinary English subjects. He was able to give a gratifying certificate of the efficiency of the School at the time of his Inquiry; but declared that it was "equally clear that, until recently, the School" had "failed for generations, largely owing to the inadequacy of the endowment to attain a satisfactory standard of efficiency as a grammar school".

Moreover, owing to the disapproval by her late Majesty in Council of the Report of the Charity Commissioners, in 1895, "the problem of administering the Charity in the way that is most advantageous to the legitimate objects of the Charity, viz., the children of the lord and tenants of the Manor of Deythur, still remains unsolved".

To a student of the subject, the founder's object, the adequacy of the endowment to attain that object throughout the varying conditions of the ensuing years, the steps taken to overcome adverse circumstances, and the measure of success attained during those years will constitute the elements of the problem.

The period covered by this essay extends from 1690 to the Inquiry of 1900; but it may have been observed that with the exception of the account of the exchange of lands in 1799 no record of the proceedings of the School between 1690 and 1825 is given.

It may be that in the earlier periods the endowment sufficed for its purpose. From 1825 to 1847 inclusive the reports, as quoted herein, are depressing. But, with the period during which the Rev. Edward Robinson was headmaster, viz., 1855/80, we see the attainment and maintenance of a high standard of efficiency, to which, so far as the years 1865/70 are concerned, the framer of these sentences can testify from his personal experience.

The question of the interpretation to be placed upon the Assistant Commissioner's stricture as stated herebefore must therefore be answered by a reference to the meaning of the founder's injunction. The schoolmaster was to instruct the children of the lord and tenants of the Manor of Deythur in reading and writing, and in the Latin or Greek grammar, and all other learning usually taught in a grammar school. But, this is the positive side of the injunction only. The founder wished the children of the Manor to have sound instruction in such subjects as would help them in the struggle of life. What other could have been his wish? He abstained from adding details which could merely have hampered those entrusted with the duty of carrying out his behest. May we not assume that Latin or Greek was to be taught,—if desired by the lord or tenants,—but not necessarily, if either lord or tenant objected to that course. As a matter of fact, very few of the free boys, if any, received tuition in either subject during the years 1865/70. But, so far as is known to the narrator, no complaint resulted.

The Assistant Commissioner evidently plumped for the strict letter of the Indenture. In his view, moreover, the term "Grammar School" carried with it a certain definite, inalienable meaning.

But the Grammar School Act of 1840 conferred upon "a Court of Equity" the power to extend the system of Education . . . in addition to or in lieu of the Greek and Latin Languages or other Instruction . . . required by the terms of the Foundation, and to make other extensions and restrictions, "with due regard to the intentions of the respective Founders", as well as to ensure the discipline of grammar schools.

The Endowed Schools Act, 1869, s. 9, gave "The Commissioners" power to alter any existing trusts and to make new trusts and provisions, "in such manner as may



render any educational endowment most conducive to the advancement of the education of boys and girls”.

So that, even if the founder of the Free Grammar School of Deythur had desired the inflexible carrying out of the letter of his behest, legislation of a later date might still have effected a divergence for the benefit of those concerned in the application of the bounty.

The difficulty presented by shortage of funds was met during the Rev. Edward Robinson’s headmastership, as at other times, by the conjunction of a boarding side with the free side, and was overcome.

Later events altered the conditions, so that in 1900 the number of free boys in the School was less than one-third of the number in 1875.

The School, so far as its government was concerned, was not affected, at least directly, by the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889. It is eight miles distant from the nearest “intermediate” school.

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THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, DEYTHUR, MONT.  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years.

1690.—The Founder’s Indentures and Trustees.

1762.—Death of the last survivor of the original Trustees.

1799.—Exchange of lands.

1825 (approx.).—Wm. Ormsby Gore, Esq., becomes lord of the manor of Deythur.

1837.—Report upon the School by the Charity Commissioners.

1840.—Passage of the Grammar Schools Act, 3 & 4 Vict., c. 77.

1839/42.—Action in Chancery, including appointment of fresh Trustees.

1847.—Report of Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of Education in Wales.

1855.—The Rev. Edward Robinson appointed headmaster.

1869.—The Endowed Schools Act, 32 & 33 Vict., c. 56, passed.

1878.—Properties vested in the Official Trustee of Charity Lands.

„      Fresh Founder's Trustees appointed.

1880.—Retirement of the Rev. Ed. Robinson from the headmastership.

1889.—The Welsh I.E. Act, 52 & 53 Vict., c. 40, passed.

1892/5.—Inquiry and Report of Charity Commissioners.

1898.—The Board of Education notified need of additional public school accommodation in the district of Deythur.

1899.—Protest by the Parish Council of Llansantffraid Deythur.

„      Resolutions passed at a meeting of the inhabitants of the Hundred of Deythur, and forwarded to Charity Commissioners.

1900.—Inquiry at Llansantffraid by an Assistant Commissioner.

NOTE.—The place and personal names are carefully transcribed from the documents consulted.

# Noë, King of Powys.

By P. C. BARTRUM, B.A., OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

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It is generally supposed that nothing definite is known of the line of princes of Brecknock in the seventh and eighth centuries, except from the scanty notices in the *Liber Landavensis* and in Asser's *Life of Alfred*. This attitude is based on the supposition that the line of Brecknock has been confused with the line of Dyfed in the only manuscript of any historical value which attempts to supply this information—namely Jesus College MS. 3 (once 20).<sup>1</sup>

It is the aim of this paper to show that this is not the case, and that the true line of princes can be discovered with a minimum of alteration of the texts as they have come down to us.

Apparently there is no pedigree of the princes of Brecknock in Harl. MS. 3859<sup>2</sup>, but our argument turns on the interpretation of a certain passage in this manuscript—namely Pedigree XV. This follows after two notices of princes of Dyfed, which leads us to suppose that it is probably connected in some way with the line of Dyfed. The notice is as follows :

[G]ripiud. Teudos  
caten. Tres sunt  
filii nongoy.

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<sup>1</sup> Edited in *I' Cymrodor*, viii (1887), pp. 83-90; for which the numbers and pages are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Edited in *I' Cymrodor*, ix (1888), pp. 169-183; for which the numbers and pages are quoted.

et sanant elized.  
 filia illorum. mater erat  
 regis ponis.

The generally accepted<sup>1</sup> interpretation of these words is that given by Phillimore in his notes (5) and (6) to the pedigree in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix (1888), p. 175. He requires that the position of the word *elized* should be altered, and that *illorum* be changed to *illius*, thus:

Tres sunt filii nougoy  
 et sanant filia illius  
 mater erat elized regis ponis.

Nougoy is then taken to be the Nougoy (Noë) ab Arthur who appears as a king of Dyfed in the Pedigree No. II of the same work, and in the *Liber Landavensis*; while Elized is supposed to be the Elized king of Powys whose pedigree is given in No. XXVII and on the Valle Crucis Pillar. The difficulty that Cathen is a *grandson* and not a *son* of Nougoy in Pedigree II is not solved, but presumably the intermediate name *Cloten* is regarded as a "doublet" of Cathen, and dismissed as a mistake in the pedigree.

This solution is chronologically satisfactory and also has a certain simplicity in its favour, but it requires two unnecessary alterations of the text, and suggests no solution to certain difficulties that will be mentioned later.

The corresponding pedigrees in Jesus College MS. 3 clearly come from a different though related source. As far as the line of Dyfed is concerned, it agrees with Harl. MS. 3859 in inserting a name between Cathen and Noë, which in this case is corrupted to Eleothen (Pedigree XII). There is also a passage in the Jesus College MS. of the same nature as Pedigree XV in the Harl. MS., but in this case it is inserted in such a way as to leave no doubt

<sup>1</sup> e.g. J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 244.

that it was intended to refer to princes of *Brecknock*. Unfortunately the editing in *Y Cymmrodor* does not indicate the beginning and ending of the lines in the manuscript, but the passage is printed as follows :

[VIII]—Tewdwr. M. Griffri. M. Elisse. M. thewdwr. M. Gruffud. Gruffud. a thewdos. a cathen. Meibyon y vrenhin powys. o sanant *verch* elisse y mam. Elisse. *verch* neuue hen mab tewdwr. M. rein. M. Cadwgawn. M. Caden. M. Keindrec. Merch. ruallawn. M. Idwallawn. M. Llowareh. M. Rigenau. M. Rein. dremrd. M. brachau.

There is clearly some corruption here, for we know that Elisse was a man's name, whereas here he is called in one place a *daughter*. The correct reading is not clear at first sight, but there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the first two sentences, for they contain no obvious mistake. They say definitely that Gruffydd, Tewdws and Cathen were the sons of the *king of Powys* by Sanan daughter of Elise.

This immediately suggests that the "Harleian" version is wrong only in the *order* of the words and not in the words themselves. *Regis pouis*, not *elized*, are the words that have been "crowded out", as we might suspect since they come after the verb *erat*. They should come after *nougoy*, and *filia* should be before *elized*,<sup>1</sup> thus :

.... tres sunt filii nougoy regis pouis,  
et sanant filia elized illorum mater erat.

This is exactly the meaning of the Jesus College MS. version. Unfortunately, however, the corruption which made Elisse into a woman has also brought *Neuue hen* (*nougoy*, Noë) out of position, for we now see from the corrected "Harleian" version that it should be before *y vrenhin powys*.

The corrected text of this manuscript should therefore be :

<sup>1</sup> But see note 1 on next page (56).

.... Meibyon neuue hen y vrenhin powys  
 o sanant *verch* elisse y mam.  
 Elisse mab tewdwr. ....

It will be seen that the mistakes in the two versions were very similar. In one case *regis powis* got crowded out and put at the end, while in the other *neuue hen* got crowded out and similarly put at the end. It looks as if the archetype of the two pedigrees ran somewhat as follows :

.... Tres sunt filii nougoy (sic)  
 et sanant filia elized  
 illorum mater erat.      ↗ regis powis

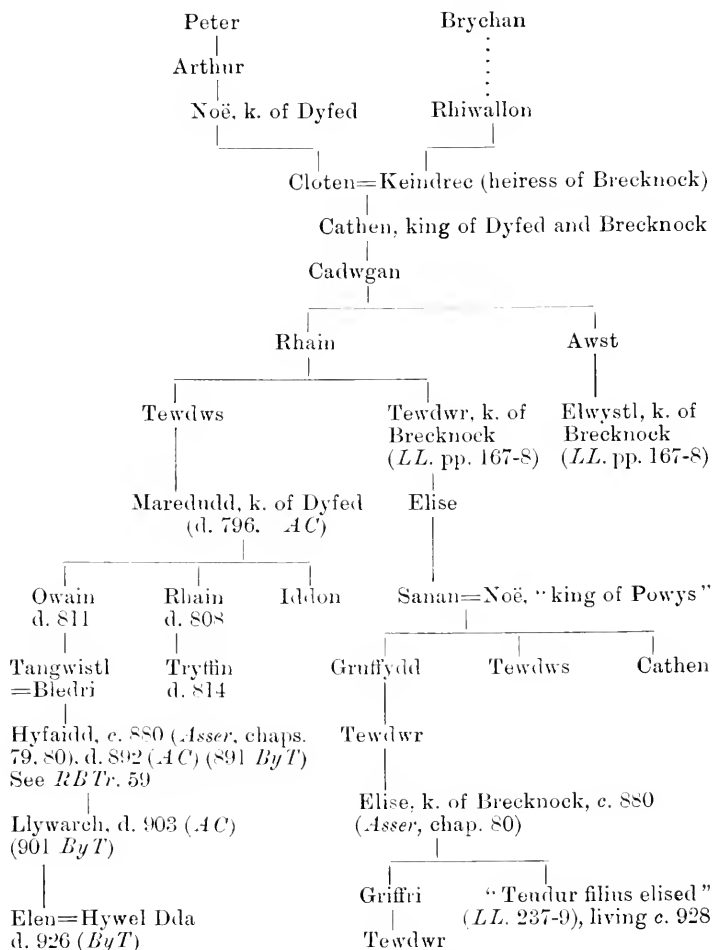
It looks, in fact, as if someone had made a note in the margin to the effect that Nougoy was king of Powys. The arrow was omitted by the scribe of Harl. MS. 3859, and he wrote *regis powis* at the end of the sentence. But the scribe of Jesus College MS. 3 supposed the arrow to mean that the words should be interchanged, so that *vrenhin powys* appeared in its right place, but *neuue hen* was placed at the end. Possibly, in the original manuscript, *filia* came after *elized*, and this would be at the root of the mistake which led him to suppose that Elized was the *daughter* of someone.<sup>1</sup>

In the continuation of the Brecknock pedigree in the Jesus College MS. we have three names which correspond exactly to three names in the Dyfed pedigree, and then

<sup>1</sup> The order of words, *Elized filia* for *daughter of Elized* would have been legitimate, and conventional, if "Elized" had been declinable. The order of these two words in Harl. MS. 3859 may easily be those of the original compiler, for it is quite understandable that he did not notice the ambiguity introduced by not declining the Proper name. A half-hearted attempt to clear up the difficulty is made by Mr. G. P. Jones in *Arch. Camb.* (1926), pp. 367-9.

It is curious to note that Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions "Grifud Mapnogoid" as one of the princes who were present at Arthur's coronation! (Book 9, chapter 12.)

the line continues through a female to Brychan. This is generally taken to be a "confusion with the line of Dyfed",<sup>1</sup> but there seems to be no reason whatever why it should not be correct. If we take this part of the pedigree as it stands we have the following relationships:



<sup>1</sup> e.g., J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, p. 271 and note 239.

The authorities are :

Harl. MS. 3859—Pedigrees I, II, XIII, XIV, XV.

(JC) *Jesus College MS.* 3—Pedigree VIII.

(AC) *Annales Cambriae* (Harl. MS. 3859) for the years 796, 808, 811, 814, 892, 903.

(ByT) *Brut y Tywysogion* for the years 891, 901, 902, 926.

(RBTr) *Triads from the Red Book of Hergest*—No. 59 (*Y Cymmrodor*, iii (1880), p. 61).

Asser's *Life of Alfred*<sup>1</sup>—chapters 79, 80.

(LL) *Liber Landavensis*<sup>2</sup>—pp. 167-8, 237-9.

The pedigree satisfies the requirements of chronology, and also fits in with certain historical data that appear elsewhere. Apparently Cathen ab Cloten inherited both the kingdoms of Dyfed and Brecknock. They remained under one rule until the time of Rhain ab Cadwgan. But the combined kingdoms were unwieldy, and it was during his reign that Seisyll king of Ceredigion conquered the district of Ystrad Tywi, thus dividing the kingdom into two again.<sup>3</sup> It was only natural that after the death of Rhain, the two portions of his kingdom should be ruled over independently by his two sons—Tewdws in Dyfed, and Tewdwr in Brycheiniog.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the reference to the latter in the *Liber Landavensis* gives no clue as to his date, and the only check on the chronology of

<sup>1</sup> Edited by W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> See J. E. Lloyd's *History of Wales*, pp. 262, 274, 281.

It is interesting to note that Seisyll, Rhun (Rhain), and Morgan of Morgannwg are mentioned as contemporaries in the life of Padarn (*Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, ed. by W. J. Rees for the Welsh MSS. Society, pp. 196-7).

<sup>4</sup> The form Tewdwr for the king of Brecknock is confirmed by the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 167-8. Tewdws is also invariably given as the name of the king of Dyfed. It is curious, however, that in *Jesus College MS.* 3, pedigree xii, Tewdws of Dyfed is said to be "o gantref teudos", which was certainly in Brycheiniog. This points to the



the Brecknock line is provided by Asser's *Life of Alfred* where *Helised filius Teudubr* is mentioned in chapter 80 as contemporary with the sons of Rhodri Mawr, that is between about 880 and 900. This date suits our theory perfectly, for Elise ab Tewdwr appears in the same generation as Llywarch, king of Dyfed, who died in about 904.

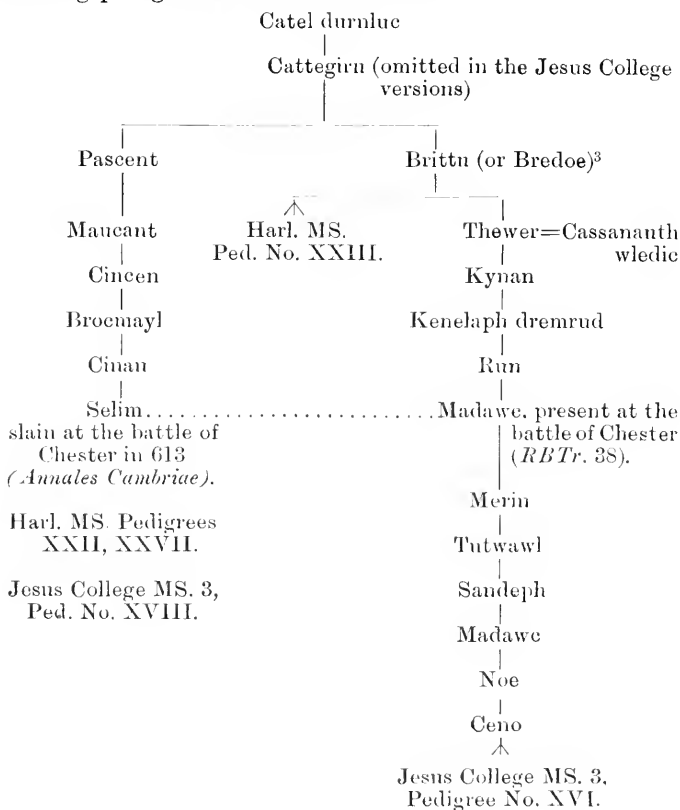
Our solution also explains one or two minor difficulties that have been pointed out in the past; and especially it explains why there is no line of Brecknock princes included among the pedigrees in Harl. MS. 3859. The line was, in fact, the same as the line of Dyfed. Where the lines diverge they are duly entered in Pedigree XV. This pedigree thus appears with numbers XIII and XIV as a group all referring to about the same date, and to two sister kingdoms, genealogically connected. Our solution also confirms the traditional date for Brychan.

It may be remarked at this point that our interpretation of the Jesus College MS. is not new, for it is given in substance by Theophilus Jones in his *History of the County of Brecknock*, 1805 edition, vol. I, appendix v, p. 6; and also occurs partly in the Golden Grove MSS., book ii, p. 3 (now in the Public Record Office).

Finally we have to discover who was this Noë, king of Powys. No one of this name appears in the usual lists of kings of Powys, but he would appear to have lived towards the end of the eighth century, and therefore would be a contemporary of Cadell, the father of that Cyngen who died at Rome in 854 (*Annales Cambriae*). Possibly he

possibility that Tewdws and Tewdwr were one and the same person, who still attempted to rule over the separated kingdoms. The testimony of the *Liber Landavensis* would then point to Tewdwr as the correct spelling of the name, and the J.C. gloss would have to be regarded as a case of false etymology.

claimed the throne after the failure of the line of Powys.<sup>1</sup> But Powys was a large district, and it is more probable that he reigned over another part of Powys further to the south, and adjoining Brecknock.<sup>2</sup> This supposition is favoured by a pedigree (No. XVI) in the Jesus College MS., which records an otherwise unknown line of kings, among whom there is a Noë. That the line was connected with Powys is suggested by the fact that it is traced to Cadell Ddyrnllug. Owing to the lack of information, this pedigree cannot be accurately dated, but there is sufficient evidence to date it well enough for our purpose. The following pedigree will make this clear.



A remarkable confirmation, both of the dating and of the placing of this pedigree is the fact that Madawc ab Run is mentioned in Triad 38 in the *Red Book of Hergest*<sup>1</sup> as being present at the battle of Chester,<sup>2</sup> and it will be observed that he appears in the same generation as Selim ab Cinan, who was slain at the same battle. If we take about 600 for the date of this generation, and count three generations to a century, we have about 770 for the date of Noë. This is just about the date required in our former pedigree, and enables us to identify the two with some confidence. If we make this identification we must conclude that Ceno ab Noë was probably not the son of Sanan, and so had no title to the kingdom of Brecknock.

This solution of the problem of the pedigree of the princes of Brecknock is so simple, and at the same time hangs together so well, that one cannot help feeling its inherent probability. We have only needed to alter the *position* of a phrase of two words in the Harleian MS. This involves changing the *position* of one word in the Jesus College MS. The rest follows without any difficulty. Besides filling a gap in our knowledge, it explains the apparent omission of a pedigree in the Harleian MS., and supplies a *raison d'être* for a pedigree in the Jesus College MS. Finally, it helps to stiffen the framework of the early Welsh pedigrees, which are indeed the backbone of our knowledge of the history of this period.

<sup>1</sup> Supposing, as is generally done, that the line did fail. See J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps part of the district later known as "Rhwyng Gwy a Hafren". Bnellt and Gwerthryniion had a dynasty of their own so that we may tentatively fix on Maelienydd or Elfael.

<sup>3</sup> This is the name that occurs in later times as Brydw. See *Arch. Camb.* for 1925, p. 301, and *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. xxi (1908), p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *I' Cymmrodor*, iii (1880), p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Waile-Evans suggests 617 as the true date for this battle. See *Arch. Camb.* for 1918, p. 86.

# A Sequel to the French Invasion of Pembrokeshire.<sup>1</sup>

BY DAVID SALMON, NARBERTH.

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IMMEDIATELY after the French invasion of Pembrokeshire in February 1797 the authorities made diligent search for the men who were supposed to have aided and comforted the invaders. About a dozen were arrested, but only two were brought to trial—Thomas John of Summerton, in the parish of Little Newcastle, and Samuel Griffiths of Poyntz Castle, in the parish of Brawdy. They were tried for high treason by the Court of Great Sessions at Haverfordwest on September 7th, 1797. After a long hearing the prosecution threw up the case against John; the case against Griffiths, which was still weaker, was abandoned.

Few of the many books and articles on the invasion mention this sequel; those that do mention it dismiss it in two or three lines—mostly wrong. The reason for the silence of the many, the brevity and errors of the few, is the lack of information. The only account of the trial I know is in the excessively rare *Cwyn y Cystuddiedig*. I had hoped to find the official account in the Public Record Office, but, though I found a good many documents relating to the invasion, I found nothing relating to that. Mr. G. H. Warlow has since referred me to documents which, if not exactly what I sought, are almost as valu-

<sup>1</sup> Now that the Historical Society of West Wales has brought to an end its very useful series of publications, we are pleased to find accommodation for this interesting sequel to the Story of the French Invasion of Pembrokeshire, omitted in their last volume.—*J.E.*

able. They are so valuable as to deserve to be made permanently accessible, and I am glad to have permission to publish them in *Y Cymmrodor*.

## THE DEPOSITIONS AGAINST JOHN.

Pembrokeshire towit

The Examination of Charles Prudhomme late of Boston in North America Mariner taken upon Oath before Henry Mathias Esquire and William Bowen Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said County the 11th day of March 1797.

Who on his Oath saith that on Thursday the twenty third day of February last a man who this dep' now understands to be Thomas John of Smurton in the parish of Little Newcastle in the County of Pembroke Yeoman came into the French Camp near Llanunda Church at about nine or ten o'clock in the Morning and asked howmany of them there were and what arms they had, whereupon some of the French desired this Examinant to ask the said Thomas John about the people and the place where they were. And this Examinant further saith that the said Thomas John told them that there were not more than two hundred Soldiers in the Town below meaning Fishguard and five hundred in the other Town meaning Haverfordwest as this Examinant believes and further that there were only two Canons in the Fort at Fishguard and told them not to be afraid because all the Soldiers in this Country had had no Battles and would shoot one another. That the Soldiers would only stand quarter of an hour and then the Country People to the amount of six hundred would be all for them. And this Examinant further saith that the said Thomas John then

returned to five or six Englishmen who came with him but had stopped at a house at a small distance from the Camp but said at going off that he would return home and come again the next morning to them, but that on the same Thursday at night this Examinant saw the said Thomas John again at a small House on this side of the Rock and he told this Examinant that there were only three hundred below and to take care of themselves, whereupon some of the French saying that they observed a great many more than three hundred he the said Thomas John replied that half were Women with red Flannels—and upon this Information being given the Piquets were doubled and the Drums went about. And this Examinant further saith that about twelve o'clock on Friday the twenty fourth day of February last about the time of the French Army beginning to march the said Thomas John asked whether any body could speak English upon which this Examinant and Francois Binet a French Serjeant Major went up to him and this Examinant said that the French Army were going to give themselves up and that they could do no otherwise—upon which the said Thomas John said “why are you going to surrender there are a great many to give help if you want it tell your Friends of this”. And upon the march down the hill the said Thomas John told the French that if they had gone about nine miles up they would have had many to join them and that several of the men with the Army were without Arms and further said that it was a Pity they should surrender as there were not more than five hundred of the English. And this Examinant further saith that there were three or four persons walking their Horses with the said

Thomas John and the French threw several Cutlasses and Cartridge Boxes to him. And this Examinant further saith that he has observed the said Thomas John carefully and was cautioned by Lieut<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Rooke not to fix upon the wrong man as he would have no Reward for convicting any Man and afterwards Mr Richard Foley gave him the same Caution and the said Rich<sup>d</sup> Foley shewed him this Examinant another Man, but this Examinant immediately said that was not the person but going into the Town of Fishguard of his own accord fixed upon the said Thomas John, whereupon the said Richard Foley took this Examinant a part and cautioned him against charging the said Thomas John unless he was certain—but this Examinant was well assured that the said Thomas John was the person before deposed to in this Examination and further saith that he rode on the same bay Horse as he afterwards rode to Haverfordwest upon.

Taken & Signed the  
Day and Year first  
written

The mark + of  
Charles Prudhomme

before us  
H. Mathias  
Wm. Bowen

---

Pembroke-shire to wit. The Examination of Francois Ashet Grenadier in the first Company of the Legion of France taken upon Oath before Francis Edwardes Esquire and William Bowen Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the said County the fifteenth day of March 1797.

who on his Oath saith that he saw a Man of this

Country on a bay Horse with cropt Ears come into the French Camp of the General the day of the Capitulation about eight o'clock in the Morning before any English Officer came in with a Whip and paper in his Hand and go to the General. This Examinant did not observe the Man but noticed the Horse much, which Horse being now produced to this Examinant he verily believes to be the same as the said Man rode upon.

The Mark + of Francois  
Ashet.

Taken and signed by Mark the  
fifteenth day of March 1797  
the same being first interpreted  
to the Examinant by Chris-  
topher Harris Sanxay Esquire  
who was first duly sworn to in-  
terpret truly.

C. Harris Sanxay F. Edwardes  
Interpreter Wm. Bowen

Pembrokeshire to wit. The Examination of Pierre Maltbè  
a Private Soldier in the sixth Company of the first  
Batallion of the Legion of France taken upon Oath  
before Francis Edwardes Esquire and William  
Bowen Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the  
Peace for the said County, this fifteenth day of  
March 1797.

who on his Oath saith that on the day of the Capitu-  
lation this Examinant was in the camp with the  
Anmmunition and he saw the Prisoner Thomas John  
about ten o'clock but what hour he can't exactly say  
after they had recd. orders to march ride into the



Camp on a bay Horse with cropt Ears which Horse is now produced to this Examinant and is the same Horse upon which the said Thomas John then rode.

Taken and signed by  
mark the fifteenth  
day of March 1797  
the same being first  
interpreted to the  
Examinant by Chris-  
topher Harris Sanxay  
Esquire who was first  
duly sworn to inter-  
pret truly.

The Mark of + Pierre Maltbè.

C. Harris Sanxay    F. Edwardes  
Interpreter        Wm. Bowen

---

Pembrokeshire to wit. The Examination of Gaspard Dégouy, Corporal of the tenth Company of the second Battallion of the Legion of France taken upon Oath before Francis Edwardes Esquire and William Bowen Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the said County the fifteenth day of March 1797.

who on his Oath saith that the person now produced to this Examinant whom he now understands to be Thomas John of Smurton in the parish of Little Newcastle in the County of Pembroke came into the Camp of the French on the Morning after they disembarked about ten o'clock and spoke to an Officer in the French Service in English and the said Thomas John was conducted to the French General and during that time an Officer of the French got

upon his Horse, afterwards the said Thomas John returned took his Horse and mounted him and rode away. And this Examinant further saith that the Horse now produced to him being Bay with cropt Ears is the same Horse as the said Thomas John rode upon in the French Camp.

Taken and signed the fifteenth day of March 1797 the same being first interpreted to the Examinant by Christopher Harris Sanxay Esquire who was first duly sworn to interpret truly.	}	Dégouy, Caporal
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C. Harris Sanxay	F. Edwardes
Interpreter	Wm. Bowen

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Pembrokeshire to wit. The Examination of Claude Meille Grenadier of the second Company of the second Battallion of Grenadiers of the Legion of France taken upon Oath before Francis Edwardes and William Bowen Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said County the fifteenth day of March 1797.

who on his Oath saith that the person now produced to this Examinant whom he is now informed is Thomas John of Smurton in the parish of Little Newcastle in the County of Pembroke came into the French Camp about ten o'clock in the Morning the day after they disembarked on a bay Horse with cropt Ears which Horse has been produced to this Examinant at the time of his Examination and he the said Tho<sup>s</sup> John alighted from his Horse and was conducted to the General en seconde who gave him a Glass of Brandy and took him to the Commander

Chief who talked a great deal with him at least three quarters of an hour the said Thomas John then took his Horse from one of the Aid de Camps who was on him when the said Thomas John was speaking to the General and rode away. The same day at one o'clock this Examinant saw the said Thomas John going into the Camp and a French Officer told this Examinant to let him pass as he was going to the General

Taken and signed the fifteenth day of March 1797 the same being first interpreted to the Examinant by Christopher Harris Sanxay Esquire who was first duly sworn to interpret truly

Meillé

F. Edwardes

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen

C. Harris Sanxay

Interpreter

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Pembrokeshire to wit. The Examination of Francois L'hanhard aid de Camp to Tate Chief of the French Brigade taken upon Oath before Francis Edwardes Esquire and William Bowen Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County the sixteenth day of March 1797

who on his Oath saith that the person now produced to this Examinant whom he understands to be Thomas John of Smurton in the parish of Little Newcastle in the County of Pembroke Yeoman came into the French Camp the day before the day of the Capitulation about noon with Lieutenant Barre S<sup>t</sup>

Leger and a Guard the said Thomas John was on Foot but there were three Horses with the said Barré Saint Leger and the Guard. And this Examinant further saith that he has observed the Horse now produced to him which he understands to be the Horse of the said Thomas John which he this Examinant is well assured is one of the three Horses the said Barre St Leger had with him. And this Examinant further saith that by the Order of the General this Examinant gave the said Thomas John a Glass of Brandy and this Examinant was ordered on Duty to another part of the Camp and left the said Thomas John with the General.

Taken and signed the sixteenth	}	L'hanhard
day of March 1797 before		aide de Camp
F. Edwardes		
W <sup>m</sup> Bowen		

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JOHN'S OWN EXAMINATION.

Pembrokeshire to wit The Examination of Thomas John of Smurton in the parish of Little Newcastle in the County of Pembroke Yeoman charged on suspicion of High Treason taken before Henry Mathias Esquire and William Bowen Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace of the said County the 11<sup>th</sup> day of March 1797.

Who says that on Wednesday the twenty second day of February last this Examinant on his arrival at home about eleven o'clock at night from a Meeting at Manachlogddu he was told the French had landed, some of Col<sup>l</sup> Knox's Fencibles being sent for from his Neighbourhood. And this Examinant further saith that on Thursday the twenty third day of February

at about six of the clock in the Morning he arose from Bed and went to Fishguard with Moses Price and met Col<sup>l</sup> Knox's Fencibles coming out of Fishguard with whom he returned as far as Sklethy Gate where he met his Landlord Mr Phelps where this Examinant stopped about two Hours. It was then about ten o'clock. That Examinant saw a great many People on the Rock above Carn Coch, some said they were French and some said they were our own People. At last George Woolcock brought a Glass & our own People were discerned on Foot & on Horseback. That Examinant, Mr Reynish of Morville, Hitchings of Shalwell, Edward Jenkins of Penmaenmawr, W<sup>m</sup> Symmons of Buchat, Moses Mathias and three or four others who spoke English determined to go up together to the Top of the Rock about twelve o'clock as this Examinant believes—when they arrived within twenty yards of the Rock the People on foot ran and informed this Examinant and the others that the French were coming, upon which this Examinant and Will<sup>m</sup> Symmons went up to the Top of the Rock and stopped and then saw about Two hundred of the French coming up with a man on Horseback and a Flag with the men on foot. Three or four of the French were before the main Troop, and this Examinant and said W<sup>m</sup> Symmons stopped on the Top of the Rock 'till those three or four were within two small Fields of the Rock. That two fired at Examinant and Symmons—upon which this Examinant & Symmons galloped off 'till they got to Trevillin and saw the French coming in parties of six and seven in different directions to the Houses thereabouts and this Examinant and others were spying thro' the Glass at them. That this

Examinant and Moses Mathias went to the House of the said Moses Mathias when this Examinant had oats for his Horse and afterwards saw the English Troops on Lleterson Mountain and the Fencibles returning from Haverfordwest. This Exam<sup>t</sup> then joined them with Moses Mathias Peter Meyler and one Morse of Boulston and This Examinant told Mr James of Gellyvawr and Mr Probert of Fishguard, two Officers belonging to the Fishguard Fencibles, that they had been over looking at the French. Mr Probert asked how many they were. Examinant said about 200 & further told him a man was killed. That Examinant continued with the Army 'till they stopped on the Fishguard Turnpike Road opposite Manerowen; that was about Four or five o' Clock the twenty third of February. That Examinant continued with the Army 'till some Prisoners came and 'till the Army turned down towards the Bottom. That Examinant went down with the Army about two Fields and returned back and met James Bevans of Martell Mill who advised Examinant to return as it was growing dark and Examinant went towards Home with him. When Examinant arrived at his Home the Neighbours came in for news—Tho<sup>s</sup> William & Moses Price's Wife. That Examinant went to Bed and got up on Friday a little before Sunrising and went over towards Fishguard & met Neighbours, Tho<sup>s</sup> Thomas of Martell and his Servants, with whom Examinant went to Fishguard and met our Soldiers coming out. That this Examinant and said Tho<sup>s</sup> Thomas followed them to the same Place where they stopped the day before. That the said Mr Bowen the Officer of the Fishguard Fencibles wanted a Horse for some Person to go to

the Country to see for Meat; whereupon this Examinant gave his Mare to Tho<sup>s</sup> Jenkins by the desire of Mr James and Deponent stood with the Soldiers on the Turnpike on Foot and there being a Report that some of the French were taken and Lord Cawdor's Force going down this Examinant went down on foot and stayed about half an Hour and saw twenty of the French Surrender. That Thomas Jenkins brought back the Mare and Examinant mounted her and a report being that the French had killed a Blacksmith a Neighbour of Examinant—Examinant asked W<sup>m</sup> Lloyd of Castlebythe to go over with him to Pencairn to see the Man and they went as far as Goodick Bridge where three or four of the Cavalry stopped them upon which they returned back and sat upon the Bank opposite with many others observing many people passing through the River said William Lloyd and this Examinant did so too and got up to a great crowd of People on this side of the Rock and saw the Smith dead and a Frenchman Dead—That this Examinant and the said W<sup>m</sup> Lloyd went a little farther where they saw the Camp of the French & where they stayed about an Hour—That the French were scattered and were Shooting but on the Drums beating they collected together and began to March out—A great Number two or three hundred marched first, the rest followed —That this Examinant and said W<sup>m</sup> Lloyd went thro' many little Fields to meet them —That Examinant and said W<sup>m</sup> Lloyd did meet them and Lord Cawdor was before them and they stopped on the Top of the Mountain; but the main body was below and Lord Cawdor said, will one of you go down and call the rest up?—That Examinant said he would and went

down to within about Sixty Yards of them and then turned his Hands on them to shew that the rest were on the Top of the Hill, then they began to march on and Examinant stood where he was and Examinant being in the Field and the French marching on Examinant asked them as they were passing on if they could speak English and some said Yes yes—That Examinant then asked them what brought them there, upon which they raised their Hands and could give no answer—That Examinant stopped till they had almost all passed still asking if they could speak English, upon which one of them said “I can”—That Examinant then asked him “What brought you here”—He said “he did not know” He then asked if that was the North part of Ireland—Examinant said no—He asked what part it was—Examinant answered “Wales” Tis welch then in these parts said the said French Soldier to which the Examinant answered yes Sir Welch. Then this Examinant observed that he supposed it was for want of Meat they came here I suppose said this Examinant you have no Meat in France. Yes plenty of Bread and Milk said the said Soldier. Then the said French Soldier asked this Examinant how far was the Town—To which this Examinant replied two or three Miles—Then the said French Soldier asked this Examinant if there was a Goal there to which this Examinant answered No—He then asked this Examinant where they were to go, to which this Examinant replied that he did not know but said they must go very far into the Country before they could all of them have Goals—Then the said French Soldier asked if there was Brandy or Porter in Town Examinant said he did not know—Then this Exami-



nant asked if more were coming over to which he replied there was a great preparation in Brest & he thought more was coming or going for some place—Then the French Soldiers came down to the Water and went to drink and one of them gave this Examinant his Cutlass. Then Lord Cawdor went down and spoke something to them and they marched stoutly up—Afterwards Peter Meyler and several other persons came up and Peter Meyler said “you had some Office with them too”—To which this Examinant replied No Office only Lord Cawdor sent me down to call them up—And this Examinant further saith that he saw no more of the said Peter Meyler but went down towards the Sands where this Examinant found his Servant to whom he gave his Cutlass and then a French Soldier offered a Cutlass to an old Woman and made a sign to her to give him something upon which this Examinant gave a Sixpence and had another Cutlass—at this time this Examinant saw Mr Evans of Reynardson and his two Sons—Then all the Soldiers came down to the Sands when this Examinant stopped, till they put down their Arms and then went leisurely after them to Fishguard and turned up to go home the old Road and met Mr. Meyler David Jenkins of Little New Castle with whom the Examinant rode all the Way to his Home,—on the night of Friday the twenty fourth day of February aforesaid—And this Examinant further saith that at the time he saw the said Mr Evans of Reynardston the Father this Examinant observed that some of them could speak English and that this Examinant had talked to one of them and shewed the man to Mr Evans and asked the man how he was then—To which he replied in a low Tone of voice

very poorly as the said Mr Evans informed this Examinant but this Examinant did not hear him speak himself being farther off than the said Mr Evans.

Taken the day and year before	}    thos John
written before us.	
<div style="text-align: center;"> H. Mathias.  W<sup>m</sup> Bowen. </div>	

#### THE DEPOSITIONS AGAINST GRIFFITHS.

Pembrokeshire, to wit. The Examination of Francois L'hanhard Aide de Camp to the French General Tate taken upon Oath before William Bowen Esquire and Barret Bowen Jordan Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County the eighteenth day of March 1797, who on his Oath saith that the day after the French disembarked this Examinant saw a person who he now understands to be Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle Farmer in the Yard of General Tate's Quarters walking—this was at Trehowell in Lanunda parish—and about ten or eleven o'clock of the twenty third day of February. And this Examinant had just returned from delivering Orders and returned with fresh orders and did not see the said Samuel Griffiths speak to any one but that several French Officers were present. And this Examinant further saith that on the following Morning before the other Aid de Camp had returned to General Tate from Lord Cawdor this Examinant observed the said Samuel Griffiths between nine and ten o'clock in the Field above the General's Quarters with another

person who now this Examinant finds is Thomas Davies of Castle Villia Gentleman and they seperated and this Examinant went up to the said Samuel Griffiths who was on a Bay Horse and this Examinant asked him if there were many Troops in the Town below To which he answered not many this Examinant said you need not be afraid that they should do them Harm that they came to fraternize with them to which the said Samuel Griffiths said he knew that. —Upon which this Examinant quitted the said Samuel Griffiths and further that Bertrand a French Officer was then present with this Examinant.

Taken and signed this eighteenth day of March 1797 the same being first interpreted to the Examinant by Christopher Harris Sanxay Esquire who was first duly sworn to interpret.	}	Francois L'hanard aide de camp au general tate chef de Brigade.
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W<sup>m</sup> Bowen  
Barrett B. Jordan

Harris Sanxay  
Interpretor

Pembrokeshire to wit. The Examination of Francois L'hanhard Aid de Camp to the French General Tate taken upon Oath before William Bowen and Barrett Bowen Jordan Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County this twentieth day of March 1797.

Who on his Oath saith that on Friday the twenty fourth day of February last between nine and ten o'Clock in the Morning before the French had surrendered he saw a Person whom he now understands

to be Thomas Davies of Castle Villia in the County of Pembroke Farmer in the French Camp in a Field near Trehowell General Tate's Head Quarters in company with a Person whom he understands to be Sam<sup>l</sup>. Griffiths of Punch Castle—That the said Thomas Davies and Samuel Griffiths were both on Horseback and had no Arms and seemed to be quite at Liberty—That Thomas Davies and Samuel Griffiths separated and Thomas Davies went away but where this Examinant does not know and this Examinant did not see him afterwards before the Surrender.

Taken and signed the day and } L'hanard  
year above written before us } Aide De Camp

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen

Barrett B. Jordan

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Pembrokeshire (to wit) The Examination of Thomas Davies of Castle Villia in the Parish of Brawdy in the County of Pembroke taken before Wm. Bowen Esquire and Barret Bowen Jordan Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace for the said County this eighteenth day of March 1797—

who saith that about twelve o'clock on Wednesday night he was informed that the French landed but this Examinant went to Sleep—the next Morning being Thursday the twenty third day of February David Williams and afterwards Joseph Harry about Sunrising came to this Examinant and asked him if he was asleep and the French landed. After Breakfast this Examinant went to Hayscastle with an Intention of getting his Mares shoes removed and between Twelve and one o'clock this Examinant went from Castle Villia towards Pen Cairn where this

Examinant had heard the French were in Company with Thomas Skeel this Examinants Brother in Law and went as far as Trevelger Farm where they met John Evans of Reynardston who had been at a Farm of his called Trevegay which the French had taken possession of. The said John Evans desired this Examinant and Thomas Skeel to go down to Treveyog to see what Harm was done, This Examinant believes this was between three and four o'clock of Thursday the twenty third day of February last—And this Examinant and the said Thomas Skeel went with the said John Evans to Treveyog and eat bread and cheese there and fed the Horses afterwards this Examinant and the said Thomas Skeel went to Newhouse and from thence got home to Castle Villia about seven or eight o'clock in the Evening—And this Examinant further saith that about five o'clock on Friday this Examinant arose from Bed and soon after left his House and went with his Brother John Davies to Pen Cairn and about a Mile from Castle Villia they met John Roch of Trevannur Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle and his Son with whom he went in Company as far as part of Llangloffan Farm where Samuel Griffiths his Son and Examinant turned to Pencairn and went up as far as Carn y gelly where they espied eight or ten French men in a Moor to the West and six or eight or thereabouts in another—And this Examinant and the said Samuel Griffiths and his Son observing some Country People coming up from Fishguard they hallowed to them to come and assist them to take the French Men so some of them went with them with such Intent but the Frenchmen ran back And this Examinant and the said Samuel Griffiths and his Son and the Country

People aforesaid returned back to Garn y Gelly and observed a great Many French at a distance from them about nine o'clock and turned their Hats to the French who came up to them And this Examinant and others there sent off twenty or thirty of the French Prisoners and a greater Number came up and took this Examinant's Mare by the Bridle and led her away towards Trehowell their own Camp 'till they came to a stony Hedge where they made this Examinant alight and marched this Examinant off and did the same by the said Samuel Griffiths. When this Examinant came near to Trehowell there seemed to be about two hundred and a person who spoke very indifferent English asked this Examinant what his Business was with the General this Examinant said None but that it was the French who made him come so far upon which the said officer drew his Sword, upon which the Drums beat & the Soldiers formed and this Examinant was marched towards the House and the said Samuel Griffiths was conducted before this Examinant but this Examinant crossed the Field and got to Trehowell House some time before him— Upon his arrival there he was introduced into the House and by what he could understand they went in and told the General some one had Business with him and the General asked this Examinant if he came from the English Army this Examinant answered he did not but that he was afraid there was some Mistake—The said General said then that he had received a Letter from Lord Cawdor the night before and that they had agreed upon a Capitulation and that the Articles were drawing out—He then asked this Examinant what sort of a Gentleman Lord Cawdor was whether he would keep to his Word or

not to which this Examinant answered that he had not the least doubt of it and mentioned something about his having sent to Lord Cawdor about Victuals as the Sheep and the Hogs were all his the said French Generals—He gave this Examinant a Glass of some Liquor—Then this Examinant said that by his Leave they would go but did not say how to go, whereupon the General ordered an Officer out with five Men to guard them who went with them as far as Brigar where they met a French Officer who told them he was a Lieutenant and a Native of America and went with them about three fields to deliver up his arms as he and the General had quarrelled the night before, but this Examinant and the said Samuel Griffiths informed him there had been a Capitulation signed the night before and that he had better go back and deliver up his arms upon which he went back and this Examinant and the said Samuel Griffiths went back to Carn y Gelly and from thence over the Country to Goodick Sands and from thence home—

Taken and signed the day and } Thomas Davies  
 year above written before us }

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen

Barrett B. Jordan

Pembrokeshire to wit.

The Examination of Pierre Bertrand Captain of the first Company of the first Battallion of the second Legion of French taken before us William Bowen and Barrett Bowen Jordan Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County upon Oath this twentieth day of March 1797.

Who on his Oath saith that on Thursday the twenty third day of February last the day after the landing of the French Troops about nine o'Clock in the Morning this Examinant saw a Person in Size and Person a good deal like the Man now shewn to this Examinant as being Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle (but he thinks the Beard was rather darker) walking near the French Camp—That L'hanard the Aid de Camp to the General was in Company with this Examinant—That L'hanard quitted this Examinant to go to speak to the Person and this Examinant went about his other concerns.—That the Person then wore a brown Coat and a spotted velvet waistcoat similar to the dress now worn by Samuel Griffiths—That on the following Morning between ten and eleven o'Clock this Examinant again saw the same Person on Horseback near the Court at Trehowell the General's Head Quarters and that he alighted from his Horse and walked in the Court Yard and this Examinant then saw L'hanard walk up to the said Person and talk with him.

Taken and signed this twentieth day of March 1797 the same being first interpreted to the Examinant by Christopher Harries Sanxay Esquire who was first duly sworn to interpret before us.	}	Pierre Bertrand Cap <sup>t</sup>
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William Bowen  
Barrett B. Jordan

C. Harris Sanxay  
Interpreter

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Pembrokeshire. The Examination of James Rees of the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Mary in the Town and County of Haverfordwest yeoman taken upon oath before William Bowen and Barrett Bowen Jordan Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County this twentieth day of March 1797.

Who on his oath saith that on Thursday Evening the twenty third day of February last after hearing of the French having landed at Fishguard this Deponent went to his Father's House at Trepuid in the Parish of S<sup>t</sup> Davids and continued there that night—That on the following morning about sun rising this Examinant and his Cousin John Rees of Arglodd in the same Parish set off on Horseback for Pencairn Rock where he heard the French and British Armies were—That on getting within view of the Camp they remained there till about eleven o'Clock to the best of his knowledge when he saw Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle in the County of Pembroke Farmer in the midst of a large Crowd of Country People—That this Examinant heard the s<sup>d</sup> Samuel Griffiths say that the French were not come there to do any harm whereupon this Examinants Cousin John Rees charged Griffiths with being of their party—Griffiths said he would fight for his King while he had life—That high words passed between the said Samuel Griffiths and John Rees but this Examinant does not recollect particularly what they were.

Taken and signed the day and }  
year above written before us. } James Rees.

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen

Barrett B. Jordan

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Pembrokeshire. The Examination of John Rees of Arglodd in the parish of Saint Davids in the County of Pembroke Farmer taken upon Oath before William Bowen and Barrett Bowen Jordan Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County this twentieth day of March 1797.

Who upon his Oath saith That on Friday Morning the twenty fourth day of February last this Examinant met Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle in the County of Pembroke Farmer near Pencairn where the French had been encamped about a mile from the Camp. That there was a Crowd of Country People with him and Griffiths said "the French are not come from home with any bad Intention" and this Examinant expecting to hear some Person reply waited for some time but no body answered and this Examinant being provoked at hearing Griffiths hold such language asked whether they had formed their Intentions since they came from home and Griffiths to the best of this Examinants recollection repeated the same words again, but said he would fight for his King as long as he was able.

Taken and signed this twentieth }  
day of March 1797 before us } John Rees

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen

Barrett B. Jordan

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Pembrokeshire to wit.

The Examination of Charles Prudhomme late of Boston in North America Mariner taken upon Oath before Barrett Bowen Jordan and William Bowen Esquires two of his Majesty's Justices of

the Peace for the said County the eighteenth day of April 1797.

Who on his Oath saith that on the day after the French disembarked he saw the person present who he now understands to be Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle in the County of Pembroke ride down to Trehowell House being the Head Quarters of General Tate and go into the House and the Examinant followed him down to the House and waited at the Guard House for half an hour but he could not get in and then this Examinant went to a Cottage at a little distance.

Taken and signed the day and	} The Mark of + Charles	
year above written—the same		Prudhomme.
being fully explained to him.		

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen

Barrett B. Jordan

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#### GRIFFITHS'S OWN EXAMINATION.

Pembrokeshire (to wit)

The voluntary Examination of Samuel Griffiths of Punch Castle in the County of Pembroke Farmer taken before William Bowen Esquire and Barrett Bowen Jordan Esquire — — — — two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County this eighteenth day of March 1797.

Who saith he did not leave his own home till between eight and nine oclock on Thursday the twenty third day of February last having previously sent up towards the French ten Men with the only Gun he this Examinant had in the House. And this Examinant saith that between eight and nine o'clock on the last mentioned day this Examinant

went with Thomas Howell and John Probert of Lochfân all without any Arms towards Tremarchog alias S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas where they were told not to go farther as the French were a little a head. Then they turned off to Fynnondridion where they were told the French were gone down to Carn y Coch—after stopping a little they went up above Carn y Coch on the High Road when they saw about thirty five French who came within two hundred yards of them and then broke into two Divisions—This was about three o'clock in the Evening and on this Examinant and the said Thomas Howell and John Probert and one Owen John who had joined them perceiving five of the French running towards them they galloped off. They the Examinant and said Thomas Howell John Probert went towards home and stopped on a high Rock above Trellys where there were above two Hundred Men Women and Children from which place they went to this Examinant's Home and on this Examinant's Arrival there the Sun was down and it had been dark a little while—This Examinant stayed at home all night and rose about five o'clock in the morning and went with this Exam<sup>t</sup>s Son to Trevannur where they called upon John Roch to go with them towards the French They Examinant his said Son and John Roch all without arms went to Martin Hill where they met Mr Thomas Davies of Castle Villa his brother John Davies and the servant of the said Thomas Davies all without arms and they all proceeded to a Road near Jordanston where John Davies & John Roach parted from them and Thomas Davies's Servant had also quitted them.—This Examinant Thomas Davies & this Examinant's Son went to the

high Mountain above Carn y Coch where they perceived five French Men crossing a Moor under Chirè and there being between twenty and thirty Welch men it was proposed that they should take the French men whereupon this Examinant and his Son went first the said Thomas Davies a little after and the said Welch Men on foot stopped after coming a little Way but the said five French men ran away and crossed a River—Soon after about ten Frenchmen from a little Village called                      fired at this Examinant and his Son upon which this Examinant and his Son turned back joined Thomas Davies and went to the High Rock above Carn y Coch where they saw about fifty or sixty Men very few armed but some had Pikes and some Sticks and this Examinant perceived amongst them the Son of the Goaler of Haverfordwest a stout large Man, and this Examinant thinks it was about one o'clock but this Examinant cannot exactly say having left his Watch at home being told that the French were robbing people of their Watches. After staying some time they saw some Frenchmen coming from the Northward about five and twenty or thirty of them came running towards this Examinant and the others whereupon this Examinant the said Thomas Davies and the others with the said Goaler's Son ran towards them and some of the French were delivering their Muskets to the Country People and this Examinant laid hold of one Musket and the French Man twisted it from this Examinant and made a Push at him with his Bayonet very near the Examinants Breast—This Examinant did nothing further to the said French Soldier who immediately came up to this Examinant and patted him on the Knee shewing as

this Examinant believes a Disposition to surrender but an unwillingness to deliver up his Arms—There then seemed to be a Confusion among the French and a Man who appeared to be a Sergeant or some sort of Officer was pushing them as if to go back and not to go with this Examinant and the others—Then a larger Throng of the French were coming forward seemingly to the number of One hundred all together about twenty broke off with some of the Country people some of the others took hold of this Examinant and of Thomas Davies and said “General English” general English” This Examinant and T. Davies tried to go back but the French would not let them holding them by the Arm So this Examinant gave his Horse to William Evan of Vagwrwalter in Whitechurch parish to hold and went with the French but at the End of a Field this Examinant lost sight of the said Thomas Davies and this Examinant was conducted down to Trehowell where there were two Officers at the Door and the French Army about the House—The Officers could not speak English, but said “General English” whereupon this Examinant was conducted into the Parlour of Trehowell where this Examinant saw the General on one side of the Fire and the said Thomas Davies on the other. This Examinant on entering heard said Thomas Davies informing the General how they were taken by his Men upon which the General told them that the Articles were not signed but that they had all capitulated and would march down as soon as they received orders from the English General—The said Thomas Davies asked the French General what Countryman he was that he spoke such good English to which he replied “American”—The said Thomas

Davies or this Examinant expressing their Fears that the French would not let them return peaceably, the General ordered a Sergeant and four or five Men to conduct them and the General told this Examinant and the said Thomas Davies to inform their Countrymen that the French were all Prisoners and to leave them alone. And this Examinant and the said Thomas Davies were conducted accordingly about three or four Fields from Trehowell where they met a French Officer who spoke English said he was an American and wanted to be shewn to Ireland from whence he might get to America. This Examinant and the said Thomas Davies then returned to the high Mountain from which they were taken by the French where this Examinant had some Words with one Rees of Arglwd this was before the French marched from Trehowell and this Examinant and the said Thomas Davies remained in the same place 'till the French Army marched with some of Lord Cawdor's Fencibles and saw them march but some of the French remaining behind the first part halted till the other part came up—A little before this time this Examinant missed Thomas Davies but this Examinant's Son was with him and they remained 'till the Army marched towards Goodick Sands to which place they went down with them and stayed 'till the French Army surrendered and laid down all their Arms—and then this Examinant and his Son returned home.—And this Examinant further saith

Taken and signed this  
eighteenth day of March  
1797 before

W<sup>m</sup> Bowen  
Barrett B. Jordan

} that in the course of the  
Conversation with the said  
French Officer he wanted  
this Examinant and the said  
Thomas Davies to conduct

him to the English General  
which they refused to do  
alleging that all the French were going to surrender  
and this Examinant asked the said French Officer  
why so few came to which he replied that they had  
obeyed their Orders which were not to fire a gun but  
to surrender.—

Sam<sup>l</sup> Griffiths

Rich<sup>d</sup>. Foley

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NOTES.

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PAGE 63.

*Smurton*.—The spelling shows the ordinary pronunciation of “Summerton.”  
*desired this Examinant* because he could speak English.

PAGE 64.

*the Rock*, presumably Carnwnda.  
*down the hill* to Goodwick Sands.

PAGE 65.

*Lieut.-Gen. Rooke*, who had been stationed at Bristol, was sent by the Government to take command in Pembrokeshire.  
*Mr. Richard Foley*, the attorney for the prosecution.  
*the Legion of France* in this and other depositions should be “the Legion of Franks.”

PAGE 68.

*General en seconde*, Chef de bataillon Le Brun, ci-devant Baron de Rochemule.

PAGE 71.

*Sklethy*, Scloddau, 2 miles S. of Fishguard.  
*Carn Coch*, Carne Coch,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles N.W. of Scloddau and half a mile S. of Carn Gelly, where the French had an advanced post. The other post was on Carnwnda,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles N.E.

PAGE 72.

*Lleterson*, Letterston, 3 miles S. of Scloddau on the Haverfordwest road.  
*two Officers*. Thomas James and John Propert were both lieutenants.  
*Manerowen*. Manerowen is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles W. of Fishguard.  
*the Bottom*, the valley between the turnpike road and Pencaer, where Cawdor's men encamped on Thursday night.  
*Berans* was a neighbour of John's, Martel being in the parish of Little Newcastle.  
*the said Mr. Bowen*. Bowen has not been mentioned before; his name is written over an erased “James.” The Fishguard Fencibles had one captain and two ensigns named Bowen.

PAGE 73.

*Castlebythe*, the parish E. of Little Newcastle.  
*Pencairn*, Pencaer.

*the River*, the little stream draining the marshy valley between Fishguard and Pencaer. It enters the sea on the E. side of Goodwick Sands and is crossed by a bridge.

*Lord Cawdor*. John was mistaken; it was Major Ackland.

PAGE 76.

*Punch*, the local pronunciation of Poyntz.

PAGE 77.

*Castle Villia*, a compromise between Castle Villa and Caswillia. On the first (1819) ordnance map the name is Castle Willia.

PAGE 78.

*Hayscastle*, the parish E. of Brawdy; the village is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Castle Villa.

PAGE 79.

*Trevelger*, Trevelgarn, in the parish of St. Nicholas, about 3 miles S.W. of Llanwnda. Treveyog (Trevayog) is in the same parish.

*Newhouse*, about a mile N.E. of Hayscastle and about 2 miles S.E. of Castle Villa.

*Trevannur*, Trevanner in the parish of Llandeloy about 3 miles N.E. of Poyntz Castle.

PAGE 81.

*Brisgar*, Bristgarn, a farm about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile S. of Trehowell. The grandfather's clock is still shown there, into which a Frenchman shot, thinking that the ticking was a noise made by someone concealed in the case.

PAGE 86.

*Lochfân*, the next farm to Poyntz Castle on the W.

*Tremarchog* (Trefarchog) is the Welsh name of St. Nicholas.

*Fymondridion*, Ffymondrudion in the parish of St. Nicholas, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles N.E. of the village and half a mile S.W. of Carne Coch.

*Trellys*, in the parish of St. Nicholas stands 400 ft. above sea level and commands an extensive view.

*Jordanston*, a parish 4 miles S.W. of Fishguard.

PAGE 87.

*Chirè* is the English-speaking clerk's rendering of "Caeran", the name by which Rhosycaerau is generally known.

*Village called* (probably) Trefasser.

# Welsh Surnames in the Border Counties of Wales.<sup>1</sup>

By T. E. MORRIS, LL.M., M.A., F.S.A., &c.

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THE study both of personal names and surnames, while of some interest to the general public, is of absorbing interest to those who delight in delving into the origin of words, phrases and epithets, whence names are evolved. Some of us have individually experienced the thrill of triumphant satisfaction on succeeding to unravel the meaning of an obscure word or on deciphering a difficult inscription, just as many of us have been pleased when a formidable cross-word puzzle has been duly solved. I contend that considerable pleasure is derived from the knowledge acquired about the real meaning of the names we bear, whether we then regard them as appropriate or otherwise.

While we, in Wales, have names and surnames which are thoroughly Welsh in origin and form, or, as it were, indigenous to the soil, and while we resemble, in this respect, other countries with their own particular or peculiar nomenclature, there is, unfortunately, a marked distinction between the poverty and paucity of our family names and the wealth and variety of those of England and other countries. Most of our surnames are derived from a num-

<sup>1</sup> This contribution is the concluding article of a long series on the subject of "Welsh Surnames" by Mr. T. E. Morris, LL.M., M.A., which have appeared from time to time in various journals. A suggestive essay on "The Re-naming of Welshmen" was published in *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1902).—V.E.

ber of Christian names and are borne by so many individuals and families in common, that, generally speaking, Welsh surnames may well be said to have ceased to be distinctive as single surnames. It has been necessary for, at least, two or three generations, when reference is made to a particular person bearing a common Welsh surname, to add either his personal name, his calling, his place of abode, or some other distinguishing feature, to mark him down among his fellows. Sometimes two or more of these alternatives have to be added, and even a nickname occasionally becomes handy! An enquiry made in a Welsh village for a man whose name is Jones would be foolish, because it would be futile, and even were his name disclosed, say William Jones, that would hardly lead to his discovery, unless his residence or vocation was mentioned. The man is invariably known to his neighbour as William Jones, *Ty mawr*, or William Jones, *the butcher*, or William Jones, *bach* (little).

It is not surprising to find that the late Rev. Canon C. W. Bardsley, an eminent authority on surnames,<sup>1</sup> when dealing with the similarity of the names used, to secure identification in the countries of Western Europe, stating that :—

“Wales is the great exception. Here there is scarcely a trade name, only a few nicknames, no official surnames that I know of, just a sprinkling of local surnames, and the rest, quite 95 per cent. are baptismal names. Hence the great difficulty of identification in the Principality”.

This difficulty of identification or differentiation hardly arises in an English village, inasmuch as English surnames are generally numerous enough in any district to go round and are varied in their character, so that most families have their own surname, and, moreover, the family names are, as it was suggested, derived from a

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (see Introduction, p 3). London, 1901.

number of sources ; some from Christian names, more from place names, while, perhaps, most come from personal callings or descriptive characteristics. Alas ! it is not so in Wales, which is full of simple, expressive and pleasant-sounding place names, and where, in its ancient Rolls, Pedigrees and MSS. (many of which have been duly published), and in its ancient literature, there is an abundant store of euphonious and beautiful Christian names, some of which are now, fortunately, finding favour among our patriotic Welsh folk everywhere throughout the Principality as baptismal and middle names. May this welcome feature be a happy augury to a more distinctive system of nomenclature in Wales and be the prelude to the "Renaming of Welshmen",<sup>1</sup> with fine Welsh family names derived from our native land, which is as rich in historie and descriptive names as any other country in Europe.

Before proceeding to deal directly with the subject of this paper it is desirable, for the guidance of the reader, that some preliminary general observations be made on certain features and peculiarities of our surnames in Wales, and afterwards the term "Welsh Surnames" will be restricted in this paper to those which are strictly Welsh in origin. This will mean the exclusion of almost all names which have become Welsh by adoption or adaptation during the last 300 or 400 years, and have become family names during the period they gained permanency as surnames in Wales, a period, roughly speaking, covering the last century and the latter end of the eighteenth century.

That large class of common baptismal Welsh surnames derived from Biblical, Norman and other sources (which are also numerous in the Marches of Wales) will be

<sup>1</sup> "The Re-naming of Welshmen", *Cymmrodorion Transactions* for 1902.

excluded, such as Abel, Benjamin, Daniel, Phillips, Matthews, Thomas, Stephens, etc., Edwards, Lewis, Morris, Richards, Roberts, Williams, etc. The surnames which will come within the range of this paper are those which are derived from the Welsh language, such as Arthur, Baugh, Bengough, Blethyn, Craddock, Dunne, Floyd, Gittins, Gooch, Goss, Gwilt, Heylin, Howell, Lugg, Mattocks, Mereday, Onions, Povey, Powell, Prydderch, Ross, Sayce, Shute, Teague, Vaughan, Wace, Yorath, etc., or have originated in Wales, such as Breckon, Cardiff, Conway, Greenhouse, Gwinnett, Lougher, Neath, Penrice, Powys, Ross, Runney, etc., or if the surnames have originated elsewhere, they have either been assimilated to Welsh forms or have been tinged or dyed with Welsh colouring, although some of them may have been subsequently Anglicised, such as Baddam, Bayliss, Bellis, Boland, Bevan, Bowen, Byolin, Davey, Daykin, Dayus, Donne, Evans, Gwyther, Jayne, Jenkins, Owen, Meyrick, Parry, Popert, Powles, Powe, Protherough, Pudge, Rosser, Tudor, Upjohn, Winstone, etc. These are family names of Welsh origin or of a truly Welsh type and may well be described as "pure" Welsh surnames.

There are more pure Welsh surnames in the counties of Hereford and Gloucester than in any other two counties selected either from English or Welsh counties. It is also a striking fact that these family names are more frequently found in the Marches and in those parts of Wales which have been under English influence from early times, than in Welsh speaking parts of the Principality. There are, perhaps, two main reasons for this remarkable feature of the frequency of Welsh surnames on the Borders and in English speaking parts of Wales. The first, briefly stated, is that surnames became permanent in the Marches and in Anglicised parts of Wales or districts

and towns under English influence, five or six generations earlier than in Welsh Wales, a period which probably covered a century ; and the second is that this period was anterior to the Methodist revival, which inaugurated a widespread and intensive adoption of names from the Bible. This period also came before English influence and ideas had led the hardy Welshman of the Marches and of his native land, either consciously or unconsciously, to name his sons and daughters after baptismal names, which hitherto had only been popular in England beyond the Marches. The balance was in favour of old Welsh personal names as Christian names well on in the eighteenth century when the surname was a changing one in Wales, but by the end of that century the balance of baptismal names in the Principality had become distinctly Norman or English and Biblical, and our old native names had been superseded and well-nigh discarded, when we adopted permanent surnames at different times in different districts.

This was, of course, generations subsequent to the lengthy era of long names, dating from the days of the Welsh princes down to the Tudor period, when Welshmen, however humble, had their pedigrees embodied for nine generations or more or less, in their ordinary names. These long names were not habitually used by those who bore them, except on important or official occasions. A Welshman, though bearing such a flamboyant name as Llewelyn ap Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Griffith ap Meredith ap Eynon ap Morgan ap Owen ap Llywarch, was best known to his neighbours as Llewelyn ap Dafydd ap Ieuan, or Llewelyn ap Dafydd, brydydd, etc. These long and cumbersome names were slowly but surely curtailed, mainly through the influence of the clergy and officials and of the Law Courts, until the short and singular form, such as Llewelyn ap David (or Dafydd), was universally adopted ; in other words, the father's Christian name became, as a

general rule, his son's surname. The abbreviations *ab* and *ap* (for *mab* or *map*, meaning "son" or "son of") connecting the respective names, plainly indicated this relationship. This universality of custom became so obvious or was so well understood, that the *ab* or *ap* was dropped as superfluous, unless either had been absorbed in the paternal baptismal name during the period of transition; hence the names Bowen, Bevan, Breese, etc., Parry, Price, Pugh, etc. The Welshman's name was thus generally (not always) reduced to the simple two name form, e.g., Llewelyn David, which two names were retained during life, but there was no further permanence in the last or the "over above" name, which we call the *surname*, simply because the baptismal name of the father became the surname of his son for that son's life only. When the son had a child, he or she took as his or her surname the baptismal name of the father, or occasionally another forbear, or even a well-known member of the child's kith and kin; and thus the custom continued from father to son, and from generation to generation.

This system of changing surnames each generation flourished in certain parts of Wales until the middle of last century or later, when the then existing surname became permanent, with the result that the last paternal baptismal name now became, once and for all, the family name. This is the factor which accounts for the overwhelming prevalence of "baptismal" names in Wales. The statement made by the late Canon Bardsley that 95 Welsh persons out of every 100 possess "baptismal" surnames may, perhaps, be exaggerated, but even if the average given be too high, it is painfully clear that we, as a people, are over-ridden with these baptismal surnames, of which the majority, be it remembered, are not Welsh but alien in origin.

Any person examining the registers of any parish in



Wales or any other official list of Welsh persons, let us say for the century ending in 1850, would probably conclude that the surname was permanent in Wales and that Welshmen bore names in English forms during that period, as they do to-day. A close examination of such registers and lists would convince him that such was not the fact. A man known to his neighbours as Dafydd Gruffudd would be entered as "David Griffiths", and his son William Dafydd would be described as William Davies. When Welsh names and surnames were recorded in the Marches and in English-speaking districts, they would be written as an Englishman conceived they should be spelt, in order to ease their difficult pronunciation or to catch their unfamiliar sound, hence Gwilym Dafydd became Gwillim Davey, and Rhys Pugh was dubbed Rice Pudge! It will be easily understood how Welsh names became ruthlessly Anglicised as the Welsh language receded from the Marches, or how when Welshmen lived a century or two ago, in English towns, their names became so corrupted as to obscure their original forms. The simple name Eynon, for instance, became Anyon, Annion, Ennion, Inions, Haines, Heins, and Inns, not to mention Onians and Onions; while our familiar Evan from Ieuan (the earlier Welsh equivalent of John), misread by monkish scribes and English copyists as Jevan, similarly became Jevan, Jayne, Jane, Jevons, Ivins, Ivings, Avans, Evance, etc., with a further transition or translation into Heaven and Heavens! These were changes wrought both in pronunciation and in spelling. The Rev. R. W. Eyton, in his *Antiquities of Shropshire* (1854), remarks that "the Anglo-Saxon law-clerks were in no case very studious of a consistent orthography, but the spelling of Welsh popular names seems to have been a subject of more than usual caprice".

There remains another feature about baptismal names

used as surnames, which requires comment, namely, that the clergy and members of the official classes added the letter *s* (presumably meaning *son*, or marking the possessive case) to the baptismal name when it was used as a surname; thus Harry becomes Harrys and eventually Harris or Harries; John becomes Johns and Johnes and finally Jones, etc. Most Christian names of Norman and English origin, e.g., Robert, William, Edward, etc., and a good number of Welsh Christian or baptismal names, such as Evan, Jenkin, Morgan, Owen, etc., when used as surnames, were punctuated with a final *s*; but surnames of a descriptive character, such as Anwyl, Bengry, Lloyd, Moyle, Vaughan, etc., have generally escaped without the addition of this unnecessary suffix. There were certain regions in Wales and the Marches, especially in Glamorgan, where the addition of *s* as a terminal was discarded with Biblical and Welsh names; hence the surnames David, John, Howell, Morgan, etc., which are distinctly South Walian.

While the process of permanency in family names was slowly succeeding in Wales during the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of last century among the "rank and file", it was the baptismal name which dominated as a surname. It should, however, be borne in mind that the place name, the nick name or *alias*, and the descriptive name, found some favour among ordinary folk. This had been the case with the better educated or the well-to-do Welsh families of the eighteenth century and the large landed proprietors, the clergy and the professional class of Welshmen down from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries or even earlier. Some observations by Samuel Taylor Coleridge on "Welch Surnames", may be worth reproducing here:—

"The small number of surnames and those Christian names and patronymics not derived from trades, &c., is one

mark of a country either not yet, or only recently, unfeudalized. Hence in Scotland the Mackintoshes, Macaulays, and so on. But the most remarkable show of this I ever saw, is the list to Owen's Welsh Dictionary. In letter D there are 31 names, 21 of which are Davis and Davies and the other three are not Welchmen ”,

and then he analyses all the names in the “ list ” under each letter, including 66 in J, “ all Joneses.” The quotation given above is from p. 365 of *Omniana*, published in 1812.

A perusal of names in Welsh pedigrees of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and of names in parish registers prior to the nineteenth century, will disclose a large sprinkling of descriptive epithets and place names attached to certain personal names; which eventually became permanent surnames, such as Anwyl, Crowther, Dedwith, Gethin, Gittins, Gough, Gwynne, Games, Lloyd, Moyle, Sayce, Vaughan, Wynne, etc.; Carew, Conway, Dillwyn, Gower, Lougher, Maysmor, Mostyn, Nanney, Powis, Ross, etc. Unfortunately the great bulk of these personal epithets and place names, associated with Christian names, failed generally to survive in Wales, but a fair number took root in the border counties and in certain areas and towns in the Principality where English influence held sway. This accounts for the existence of some of our rare modern Welsh surnames, which, oddly enough, have been nurtured under the sheltering wing of the earlier attained English custom of adopting permanent surnames.

Offa's Dyke is a historical landmark and a permanent record, on the border of Wales, of endless strife and avenging raids, but when those dark days of warfare ended, a close connection grew up between Wales and its Marches, which was strengthened by the setting up of the King's Council of the Marches at Ludlow. It is asserted that the population of the Marches was, to some extent, Welsh, even in the eleventh century; whereas, at the present day,

a large proportion of the population, in some parts as large as a third, has descended from Welsh "immigrants". It is further claimed that the physical characters of those now inhabiting the Marches support this contention. Be that so or not, it is a fact that, in certain districts, surnames of Welsh origin are very frequent, and the presence of so many Welsh place names in particular areas, proves conclusively how prevalent Welsh, as a spoken language, was in certain parts of Shropshire, Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. We know that Hereford was regarded as a "Welsh" diocese when the Bible was translated into the Welsh language in Elizabeth's reign. It is interesting to note that the Abbot of Evesham (Worcestershire), in a petition addressed in June, 1539, to Thomas Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII, describes Evesham as "a great thoroughfare into Wales", and states that "it is situated *within* the principality of Wales near the King's Council of the Marches".

Now the language problem, as already indicated, is one of the many difficulties which has to be fully considered when we have to deal with the numerous developments which have produced some of the curious and perplexing surnames, with their respective variants, found in the Border Counties. Let us take, for instance, such surnames as Baugh, Bache, Back, Beck, Beak, Bick, Peck, Vick, etc., which are derived from the Welsh word "bach" (masc.) "little", just as Baughan and Vaughan come from "bychan" (masc.) and "fychan" or "vychan" (fem.), also meaning "little".

Changes due to the prevalence of two spoken languages arose mainly out of sound substitution or sound interpretation, resulting in the abbreviation or contraction of names, by the elimination of the initial letter or its substitution for another; by the transposition of certain consonants and especially vowels; or by the dropping of a consonant or

vowel in order, as it was thought, to make the spelling of any particular name accord with its real or fancied pronunciation. Popular etymology was ever shifting, especially when education was in a low state in this country, hence it is not surprising that baptismal or Christian names and surnames were respectively multiplied into so many variants, as time sped. It must, moreover, be recollected that the orthography of names was not settled, generally speaking, in England, until the end of the eighteenth century and the commencement of the last century. It was a common practice prior to and during this period, for a person who could write, to vary the spelling of his name, as he felt fit, or according to his whim or fancy at the time. A most important influence in the creation of names and surnames was the tendency to shorten names by way of endearment and familiarity, so as, in some instances, to alter its form completely; for instance, Dafydd became Dei, Deio, etc.; Griffith became Gutto, Gitto, and Guttyn; Llewelyn, Llelo; Meredith, Bedo; etc. These names of endearment were again expanded by the addition of the Welsh *cyn* and *cws* or *ws* (Anglicised, "kin" and "us"), e.g., Dei to Deicyn, Anglicised Deykin, Dakin; Deiws, Anglicised Dayus; Deicws, Anglicised Dykes; etc.

A careful study of the Lists, forming essential parts of this article, will fully illustrate the many changes wrought in various surnames. It will be impossible, in the compass of this paper, to deal with the special changes which any particular surname or its variant has undergone, but occasionally a pedigree or authority will be cited to support or prove certain derivations. Some surnames have twofold or more origins, for instance the surname Downes found throughout the Marches comes, generally speaking, from the Welsh word *dwn*, "swarthy"; but this surname is also derived from the English words "down" and

“downs”, as in the line, “Oh, who will o’er the downs so free”; for instance, Margaret Don, to whom (and to another) a lease was granted in 1381, for their lives, of a tenement in Loxton and “40 sheep on La Donne”, by the Dean and Chapter of Wells, derived her surname from that “down”.

The Lists referred to have been prepared from county directories current in 1910, 1923, and this year (1932), and represent a great deal of labour spread over many years. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. M. Pennant Jones, for considerable assistance in the compilation of my earlier lists, now brought up to date, and for many valuable suggestions made by him. These lists cannot be claimed as complete, inasmuch as directories, however carefully prepared, only contain a small part of the population. The names of agricultural labourers and members of the working classes are seldom given; and it is among working men in agricultural districts that exceptional surnames or peculiar variants of popular surnames, are often found. Perfect lists could only be prepared, after a close perusal of the Register of Voters in each county, or from Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths in each district. Ireland is fortunate in having had its surnames properly recorded and tabulated, at the expense and under the authority of the State. I refer to the publications issued in 1901 on the “Varieties and Synonyms of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland” and the “Special Report on Surnames in Ireland”, in 1909, by the late Sir Robert E. Matheson, LL.D., the Registrar-General.

I now proceed to divide Welsh surnames found in the five counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire; in the county of Monmouth and in the two counties of Somerset and Devon, across the Bristol Channel; into four classes, namely:—

1. Baptismal or Christian names, used as Surnames ;
2. Descriptive names as Surnames ;
3. Surnames derived from place names in Wales and Monmouthshire, etc. ; and
4. Surnames formed by the combination of *ab* and *ap* with Welsh and other baptismal names.

# 1. BAPTISMAL NAMES USED AS SURNAMES.

## List No. 1.

Adda.	Dayson, Dickin, Dickins,
Alban.	Deacon, Dyer.
Anyon. (Eynon).	Duggan, Duggins (Cadogan).
Arthur, Arthurs, Arthure.	Eddow, Eddowes, Edees.
Arthay, Arter.	(Bedo).
Arthan.	Eykin, Ekins. (Deykin,
Assaf.	Dekins).
Auden.	Ennion, Eynon. (Eynon).
Avans, Avens, Avons.	Evan, Evans, Evason, Evens,
(Evans).	Ewans, Evance. (Evan).
Beddis, Beddoes, Beddow.	Ewin, Ewins Ewen, Ewing,
(Bedo).	Ewings. (Evans or Owen).
Blythin, Blything.	Flower, Flowers. (Llywarch).
(Bleddyn).	Forgan, Forgans. (Morgan).
Caddell, Cadle, Cattell,	Giffen. (Griffith).
Caddel, Caddy, ? Cade.	Gilliam, Gillam, Gillum.
(Caddell).	(Gwilliam)
Caddick. (Cadoc).	Gittins.
Cadogan.	Gittoes, Gittus, Gotto.
Cadwallader, Cadwaldr, Cad-	(Gutto for Griffith).
waller, Cadwareder, etc.	Gowen.
Cecil.	Griffen, Griffin.
Craddock, Cradock.	Griffith, Griffiths, Griffithes,
(Caradoc).	Griffies, Griffiss, Griffee,
Cullum. (Gwilliam).	Griffy, Griffey, Griffet,
Cunna.	Griffett, etc.
Davies, Davis, Davys, Dafis,	Gronow, Grounow, Grenow,
Devis, Davie, Davy, Davey,	Grennow, Greenow, Green-
Dovey, Daffey, Dye, Day,	ough, Greenows, Green-
Daye, Dayus, Daw, Dawe,	hous, Greenhouse, Green-
Daws, Dawes Deakin,	away, Greenway, Green-
Deakins, Deykin, Dekins,	haf. (Goronwy).
Dakin, Daking, Deykes,	Gwatkin.
Dykes, Dyke, Dike,	Gwilliam, Guillam, Gwilym,
Deakes Dyson, Dawson,	Gwilim, Gwillim. (Gwilliam).

- Gwyther. (Gwythur).  
 Haines, Haynes, Heins,  
 Heynes, Haine, Hayne.  
 (Eynon).  
 Hanner, Henner, Honner.  
 (Ynŷr).  
 Harman. (Garmon).  
 Harthan. (Arthan).  
 Heaven. (Evan).  
 Hevey, Hovey, Heffer, Huff,  
 Huffa, Huffer. (Hwfa).  
 Heylin.  
 Hopkins, Hipkiss, Hipkins.  
 Horgan. (Morgan).  
 Howen. (Owen).  
 Howell, Howells, Howle,  
 Howles, Hoole, Howls,  
 Hole, Hale, Houle.  
 Huelin. (Llewelyn).  
 Hews, House, Howse,  
 Hughes.  
 Idris.  
 Ikin, Icke. (Deikin).  
 Iles. (Howells).  
 Inions, Inns. (Eynon).  
 Ithell, Ethell, ? Etechells.  
 Ivens, Ivins, Ivison. (Evans).  
 Jenkin, Jenkins, Jenking,  
 Jenkins, Jenkyn, Jen-  
 kyns, Jenks, Jinks.  
 Jones, John, Johns, Jeans,  
 Jayne, Jaine, Jane,  
 Jeynes, Joynes, Jevons,  
 Jay. (John & Evan).  
 Kaye, Kaye, Keay, Keyes,  
 Key, Keys, Keyse, Kayes,  
 Keey. (Cai).  
 Kettell. (Caddell).  
 Kenrick, Kendrick, Kenwric.  
 Kenryn.  
 Kibby. (Cybi).  
 Lello. (Llewelyn).  
 Leyson, Leyshon, Leysham,  
 Leeson. (Lleision).  
 Llewellyn, Llewelin,  
 Llewelyn, Llewelwyn.  
 Maddock, Maddocks, Mad-  
 dox, Mattock, Mattick,  
 Maddicks, Maddix, Maddy.  
 (Madoc).  
 Meredith, Meredyth, Merre-  
 dith, Meredeth, Merreday,  
 Merrett, Merretts, Merritt,  
 Merrie, Merry, Merris.  
 Meyrick, Meyricke, Merrick,  
 Merrix.  
 Merfin, Mirfin. (Merfyn).  
 Morgan, Morgans.  
 Merlin, Merling. (Myrddin).  
 Nevett, Nevitt. (Ednyfed).  
 Onians, Onions. (Eynon).  
 Organ. (Morgan).  
 Owen, Owens, Ovens, Oyns.  
 Owles. (Howells).  
 Plevin, Plevy. (Bleddyn).  
 Rees, Reese, Reece, Rice,  
 Reesh, Rhys.  
 Rhone. (Urien).  
 Riddick. (Caradoc).  
 Rosser, Rossor, Rossier.  
 Shone. (John).  
 Swatkins.  
 Taffe, Taaffee, Tovey, Tove,  
 Toy. (Davy).  
 Trahearn, Trayhorn, Tray-  
 hurn, Treharne, Treherne.  
 (Trahaiarn).  
 Trevor.  
 Tudor, Tudor, Tedder, ? Ted-  
 way.  
 Urion, Urry. (Urien).  
 Vance. (Evan-Edan).  
 Wathen, Withen.  
 Whowell. (Howell).  
 Withers, Withey. (Gwyther).  
 Worgan. (Morgan).  
 Yorath, Yorworth, Yarworth,  
 Yowarth (Iorwerth).  
 Youens, Youngs. (Owens).



Lists Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 8 contain family names derived from Welsh baptismal names. Readers who are interested in the origin, meaning and history of these surnames, will find most of them fully discussed in a survey from my pen, which appeared in 1911 in "*Byegones*," a popular journal formerly published at Oswestry.

Auden is said to be derived from Owen through its Latin equivalent *Audioenus*, reminding us of the long stretch of years when parish registers were written in Latin. The well-known Lancashire place name Audenshaw may suggest another origin. The surnames Beddis, Beddoe, etc., are derived according to Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Col. Sir Joseph A. Bradney, C.B.E., from Bedo, the diminutive of Meredith; and not from the rare personal name Bedwyr, found in the *Mabinogion*. Edees, Eddow, etc., are derivatives of Bedo. The letter B has been dropped, as in the obsolete form Lethyn from Bleddyn, found in the list of persons who paid homage to the first English Prince of Wales in 1301, compiled and published some years ago by Mr. Edward Owen. The absence of the initial letter D in Eykin and Ikin, from Deicyn, is another like instance. The surname Blaything, from Bleddyn, was extant near Ellesmere (Shropshire) in 1837. A surname such as Plaything would be impossible, nowadays, but I regard Pleavin and Plevin, found in Cheshire, and Plevy in Herefordshire, as variants of Bleddyn, in spite of the substitution of the vowel *v* for *dd*, i.e., the soft *th*. B and P are interchangeable in Welsh. The name William Plevyn occurs in the registers of Neston, a parish in Cheshire, under the year 1559. Cadle, with its variants, figures in each county in List No. 5, except Cheshire. Cadle and Cadogan, derived from Cadell and Cadwgan respectively, are also Irish names, both being Celtic in their distant origin. Cadell ab Urien, a Welsh saint and a disciple of Cadoc of Lllancarvan, Glamorgan,

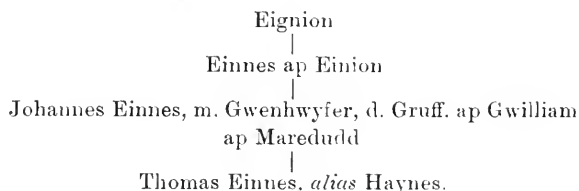


a Roman source, Caecilius, very remote from Sicilia". The abbot of Ystrad fflur (Strata Florida), in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis (1182), was called Sisillus.

Dafydd, pronounced Davith, with both *a* and *i* short and the *th* soft, has been the popular Welsh form of David for many centuries, although Dewi was probably its earlier equivalent. The numerous variants Davy, Dafis, Daffey, Taafee and the well-known nickname Taffy, with the interchangeable consonants *f*, *ff* and *v* and the common substitution of *t* for *d*, come from Dafydd. Its derivative pet names, Dei and Deio, are equally the sources of Dye, Day, Dier, Dyer, Toye (whence Deyson, Dyson, etc.), while the addition of the suffixes "kin" and "us" have produced the numerous variants Deykin, Daykin, Dakin, Daking, Deakins, Dayus, etc., as well as the clipped variants Eykin, Ikin, etc. The other variants of Dafydd or David, given in Lists Nos. 1 and 5, may likewise be traceable to Welsh influences. One "Madoc ap deikyn" is mentioned in the Record of Caernarvon in 1353, and William Daykin was the reeve of Trefgarn, in the lordship of Haverfordwest, in 1407. Dackin (1573), Dackyn (1574), and ap Dyo (1584), appear in the Mallwyd (Merioneth) parish registers under the years mentioned, and the name "Deucus gethin" appears in a charter granted in 1391 by John, lord of Mowthoy (Mawddwy, Merioneth), to David Holbach and others. Dickyn, Dickins, and even Deacon, as found in the Marches, may well have been evolved from the Welsh endearment name Deicyn or Deykin, etc.

Duggan, Duggins, are variants of Cadogan. Eynon and Beynon have undergone curious changes in England, producing such divergent variants as Haynes and Onions and Baines, Baynham and Beniams respectively. Many forms of the name, such as Annyon, Anian, Onyon, Onians, etc., appear to be obsolete. "The Haines Arms",

a small book by A. M. Haines, of Illinois, U.S.A., published early this century, states that the Haines families had their origin in Shropshire and Montgomeryshire. "The name spelt in many ways as Eines, Eynes, Eynns, with the initial H prefixed, became Heines, Heynes, Haynes and Haines". He refers to a Welsh custom that if a father named Einion had a son bearing the same name, he would be familiarly called Einws, "the Welsh diminutive of Einion", hence the transition from Einws to Eines. The pedigree of Heynes or Eynes of Church Stretton, given in the "Heraldic Visitation of Shropshire" made in 1613, and printed by the Harleian Society in 1889, is as follows:—



The numerous forms which have grown from Evan, pronounced Ifan in Welsh (i.e., long e followed by v or f), are easily accounted for when sound results, the effects of uncertain pronunciation, and erratic spelling are considered. Evan and John are synonymous. Evan is the product of the earlier name Ieuan (rather than Ioan) for John, and is derived from the Greek Johannes, through the Latin Johannus. The Welsh popular pronunciation of Ieuan appears to have always been Ifan, just as to-day the words "dyn *ieuan*", being the literary Welsh for "young man", are pronounced in colloquial Welsh as "dyn *ifan*".

Flower is probably an Anglicised form of Ilowarch, or the Welsh name Llywarch, just as Floyd is another variant of Lloyd, for the Welsh Llwyd. The Irish surname Flower is stated, in the records of their family, to

be derived from the Welsh Llowarch, which, as a surname, appears now to be confined to the counties of Montgomery and Salop. It is strange that Gwalehmai or Gwalehmay, another Montgomeryshire surname, has not also strayed into Shropshire. Perhaps it has, but is not recorded in a directory!

Gittoes and Gittus come from Gitto, a pet name of Griffith. One "Jevan D'd Gytto" of "Llanarthney, Mon.", aged 80, gave evidence in a law suit in 1690. Gotto may be another variant. The wonderful assortment of the variants of Griffith in Lists Nos. 1 and 5 almost suggest that our English neighbours, especially in Bristol, have been "ringing the changes" over the name. Its ancient form as found in the Book of Chad was of two elements, *Grip* and *iud*, where Grip was pronounced Griff. The first element has gripped and remains unchanged.

Goronwy in its Anglicised forms Grono, Gronow and Grenow, after passing through a number of phases, is converted into Greenhouse, while an early variant Grenewey, found in a Monmouthshire document dated 1496, is a parent of Greenaway and Greenway. Richard Grenewey was M.P. for Hereford in 1497. Henry Gronow, a parish officer at Llandrindod, towards the end of the eighteenth century, has his name spelt in a number of ways in a parish account book. Starting as Gronow and then Grenow, he appears, at times, as Henry Greenows, and finally his name is stabilised as Henry Greenhouse. One John Greenus, of the parish of Linton, Herefordshire, died in 1832, aged 82.

Gwatkin is obviously a Welsh variant of Watkin; just as Gwilliam and Gwilym, as well as Gilliam and Gillum, are forms of William, to some extent, in Welsh garb. The name of "Wm. ap Gwatking" of King's Caple, Herefordshire, appears in a deed of enfeoffment, dated 12th May, 1541. The surname Jenkins is said to have originated in

Wales. The name "Jankyn Issabel de Caernarvon" figures in the Record of Carnarvon in 1353; while the names of Owen ap Jankyn of Cardiganshire, and Jankyn ap Meuric ap Richard and Jankin ap John ap Rhys, both the latter hailing from "Brecknockshire", are found among the men-of-arms mentioned at Agincourt in 1415. Jenkin and Jenkyn are names found in Devonshire wills in the sixteenth century. The forms Jenkins and Jenkyns are those in vogue there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hopkins derived from Hop, a diminutive of Robert, was probably nurtured in South Wales, even if it originated elsewhere. Jenkin ap Hopkin was a tenant of lands, belonging to the church of St. Athan, in the vale of Glamorgan, in 1549. Hopkins is found in most places in the border counties, as is also Jenkins. The variants of Hopkins show how sound substitution can supersede a proper appreciation of a name. Watkin, derived from Wat, a pet name for Walter, is also a surname which has flourished in South Wales for centuries. Swatkins, with s at both ends, is an odd Gloucestershire variant.

Gwythur is derived from the Latin Victor and Gwyther is its Anglicised version. Canon Bardsley states that Withers is an English surname meaning "the son of Wither", a personal name; and that it is found in the Hundred Rolls without the suffix *s*. He quotes instances of the surname in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, in the forms Wyther and Wythor in 1273. Mark Anthony Lower affirms, in his book on Surnames, that Wither occurs in Domesday Book as a tenant prior to that census. I am convinced that Withers, found in the Marches, is also derived from Gwyther, with the initial letter G eliminated and the vowel *i* substituted for the Welsh vowel *y*. The surnames Wynn and Winn from the Welsh Gwyn (and Gwynn) illustrate a similar transition; except that Wither, being a personal name, be-

comes Withers by the addition of the suffix *s*. The names Gwithir and Gwethir appear in the Record of Carnarvon, compiled about 1335. Robert Wethir was a member of the "Craft of the Dyers" in Bristol in 1407. The surname Withers occurs in a list of voters in a Montgomery election in 1774.

Heylin is a rare surname derived from an old Welsh term, *heilyn*, meaning "a cup-bearer", but it was used as a personal name centuries ago. One Grono ap Heilyn was entrusted with an important mission by Llewellyn, the last Prince of Wales. Rowland Heylyn, sheriff of London in 1624, published a Welsh Bible, at his own cost, in the reign of King Charles I. A variant, Hayling, appears now to be obsolete.

The meanderings of Howell through Howells, Howles and Howls are apparent from Lists Nos. 1 and 5, while the name Iles is a further development. The transition of Howell to either Howl, Hole or Whowell appears an easy one. The surnames Bowl, Bowley, Bowells, Bowles are derived from the unfamiliar Howell (ab Howell), while Povall appears to be a variant of the well-known Powell, with the vowels *w* and *v* exchanged. Huelin, a Monmouthshire family name, looks and sounds like a beheaded Llewelin.

Huff, Huffa, Huffer, etc., found in Church Stretton and elsewhere in Shropshire, are derived from the Welsh personal name Hwfa. The name, combined with *ab* or *ap*, has produced quite a number of varying surnames in that county. The will of one Phillip Huffa, who lived at Hadnall, was proved in 1635. I cannot disconnect the surname Huff, in Shropshire, from that found in Gloucestershire, which was so largely Welsh less than two centuries ago. Huff has also crept thence to Somerset or it may have crossed the channel from the Welsh side. I regard Heffer and Offer as well as Hovey and Hevey as

Anglicised developments of Hwfa. Heffer and Offer are Bristol names, and *Bristé* was closely connected with South Wales, as its chief trading port, from the early days of navigation.

Kay, which Miss Charlotte Young describes as "a Welsh classic name", has been in Wales and in the western counties of England, since the days of the Gododin and the Mabinogion. It is identical with Cai, one of the 24 Arthurian knights, and is derived from the Latin Caius. One thinks instinctively of Caius (pronounced "Keys") College, Cambridge; but the forms Kayes, Keyes, Keyse come from Kay, with the inevitable suffix s. Kibby, found in the county of Monmouth and in Somerset, may well be equated with Cybi, the name borne by a holy man of Wales, St. Cybi. The English surnames Gibbs and Gibby are derived from a diminutive of Gilbert but one cannot be sure that Gibby, or even Gibbs, when found in the border counties, may not also have been evolved from Cybi, quite apart from Gilbert.

Lello, a diminutive of Llewelyn, is a rare surname found in Shropshire and in the adjoining county of Radnor. Merfin and Mirfin come from Merfyn. It is recorded in the Domestic Papers of the reign of Henry VIII that Hugh Mervyn was appointed "chancellor and receiver of the lordship of Brechon *alias* Brekenok" in April, 1522. Merlin is a well-recognised English form of Myrddin, the name from which the town of Carmarthen is also derived. Forgan appears to be a variant of Morgan, inasmuch as the consonants f and m are interchangeable in Welsh. Organ is Morgan bereft of its initial letter M. The notable elements in that name are "or" and "gan", they form the organ by which the appealing sound in the name Morgan is conveyed. It is not a matter of surprise to find the first letter ignored by English speaking folk in the old days of illiteracy, so that we get Organ and the



aspirated Horgan. It is possible that Worgan may have two origins and that one of them is Organ, with the letter W prefixed, just as Howell has become Whowell. Worgan is derived by Lewis Dwnn in his "Heraldic Visitations to Wales" (1585) from Gwrgan, or *Gurcant* in ancient Welsh, a derivation which every Welsh scholar accepts. Worgan, a great Pembrokeshire surname, is found to-day at Whitland, where the Wogans flourished for centuries.

Nevett comes from the Welsh name Ednyfed. "Thomas Ednyfed *alias* Nevett", a London draper, founded a charity at Ruabon in 1633. It is also an English surname derived from the name "de Knyvet" of the Hundred Rolls (1273).

The name Rosser is mentioned in the Welsh text of "Brut y Tywysogion" under the year 1100. It is the Welsh equivalent of Roger. Rotsier and Rhossier are obsolete forms of the name. The pedigree is given in Lewis Dwnn's "Heraldic Visitations of Wales", compiled in 1586, and published by the Welsh MSS. Society in 1846, edited by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, of "Gwalter Sais ap Rosser Vychan ap Rosser Vawr ap Ieuan ap Howel ap Seissyllt ap Moreiddig Warwyn, who married Ann, d. and coh. of Sir Piers Brodwardin, issue Rosser hên, issue Rosser ieuange, issue Rosser Vychan, etc., whence Rosser Vychan of Clirow, etc."

Shone is the Anglicised Welsh form of John. It is now rarely found in Wales as a surname, but it has flourished as such in Shropshire and Herefordshire, since family names became stationary or standardised in those counties. One Robert Shone was in occupation of lands, known as "Rolly Vawr" in Iscoed, Denbighshire, in 1603.

Trevor, originally a place-name, i.e., Tre-vawr, the "great" township, town or homestead, has been recog-

nised both as a name and surname from early times. John Trevour of Oswestry is mentioned in a letter dated 12th March, 1536, from Bishop Lee to " Thomas Crumwell ", the secretary of Henry VIII. Sir Richard Trevor, Knt., was M.P. for Carmarthen in 1547. Urion, a family name of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire, is probably identical with the old Welsh personal name Urien. Urien Rheged figures in the Saxon Genealogies as one of the British kings who waged war against Theodoric (572-579 A.D.), and is referred to by Dr. J. E. Lloyd in his " History of Wales " as then the most brilliant war leader in the cause of British freedom against the Saxons. It is an old surname on the Shropshire border. Urian Bulkeley (1564) and Urian Griffith (1565) are names which occur in the parish registers of Malpas (Cheshire), while the name of one " Urian Prickee *alias* Probin " (1684) comes from the registers of the near parish of Farndon. Rhone, a surname at Prees, near Whitechurch, may be derived from Urion, or possibly from Rhun.

Wathen is another well-known old Pembrokeshire name and is said to be of Flemish origin. Wathen may also be a variant of the Welsh personal name Wythen, as in Trewythen, a place-name near Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire; or in the name of a holding Cae'r widdan (or Withan, if Anglicised), in South Carnarvonshire. Widdan comes from the Welsh word " gwyddan ", a person who sees or knows, generally used, in a bad sense, for a magician or a person given to the occult or to witchcraft. The name Jacobus Waython occurs in the parish register of Garway, Mon., in 1722. Robeston-Wathen is the name of a parish eight miles from Haverfordwest.

Yorath, Yorworth, Yarworth, etc., are derived from the ancient Welsh name Iorwerth, with which the English Edward is falsely equated, according to a note of Mr. Egerton Phillimore in Owen's " Pembrokeshire " (Vol.

II., pp. 210-11), which was published by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

2. DESCRIPTIVE TERMS USED AS SURNAMES.

List No. 2.

Anwyl.	Gwilt.	( <i>gyyllt</i> ).
Bach, Bache, Back, Bagg,	Gwyn, Gwynn, Gwynne,	
Baggs, Baugh, Baughan,	Gywn, Gwinn, Quinn,	
Baulch, Beak, Beck, Becke,	Quinny, Quiney, Quinney,	
Beek, Begg, Beggs, Bick,	Quin, Quine, Winn, Wine,	
Biffen, Boffin, Bough,	Winney, Winson, Wynn,	
Buck, Buffin, Pack, Palk,	Wynne, Winnie. ( <i>gwyn</i> ).	
Peck, Peek, Pick, Pickman,	Heague	( <i>teg</i> ).
Vick, Vicker. ( <i>bach</i> ).	Kemm.	( <i>cam</i> ).
Bengough. ( <i>bengoch</i> ).	Lloyd, Flood, Floyd, Ffloyd,	
Bengree, Bengry. ( <i>bengrych</i> ).	Floyde, Flint.	
Brace. ( <i>bras</i> ).		( <i>llwyd, Lloyd</i> ).
Brunt. ( <i>brunt</i> ).	Maher, Mawer, Mayer,	
Cadarn, Caedarn.	Mayers, Mairs, Moir, More,	
Cam, Camm, Came, Kemm.	Moore.	( <i>mawr</i> ).
( <i>cam</i> ).	Mellen, Mellin, Mellings.	
Crowther, Crowder.		( <i>melyn</i> ).
( <i>crythor</i> ).	Moyle, Mole, Moule, Moules.	
Dee. ( <i>du</i> ).		( <i>moel</i> ).
Dew, Dews. ( <i>tew</i> ).	Penn, Penna.	( <i>pen</i> ).
Don, Done, Donne, Down,	? Penwarden.	
Downs, Downes, Downey,	Pready, Preddy, Preddie,	
Dunn, Dunne. ( <i>dun</i> ).	Preedy, Priday, Priddin,	
Duppa.	Priddy.	
Fane. ( <i>fain</i> ).	Saer, Sayer.	( <i>saer</i> ).
Faun, Fone. ( <i>bychan</i> ).	Saies, Say, Sayce, Says, Seys.	
Flood, Fluit. ( <i>llwyd, Lloyd</i> ).		( <i>Sais</i> ).
Foyle. ( <i>foel</i> ).	Shute, Shutt.	( <i>syth</i> ).
Games, Gameson. ( <i>cam</i> ).	Teague, Teage, Teek.	( <i>teg</i> ).
Geddings, Gethin, Gethen,	Tunna.	(? <i>dun</i> ).
Gethings, Getthings, Get-	Vano.	( <i>fain</i> ).
ting, Gettins, Giddens,	Vaugh, Vaughan.	
Giddings, Giddy, Gittens,		( <i>bach, i.e., fach</i> ).
Gitting, Gittings, Gittins,	Vick.	
Gittons. ( <i>gethin</i> or	Vowles.	( <i>moel</i> ).
" <i>Guttyn</i> ").	Wace, Wase.	( <i>gwas</i> ).
Goff, Gough, Gouge, Gooch,	Walsh, Walshe, Welch,	
Gauge, Cock, Cocks, Cox,	Welchman, Welsh, Welsh-	
Coxon, Couch, Coysh.	man, Welsman, Wilce.	
( <i>coch</i> ).	Wythes.	
Glass, Glassey, Glasson.		
( <i>glas</i> ).		

The meaning of Anwyl is "dear", "beloved". The name of one "Richard Anyell" is mentioned in two suits in the Court of Chancery between 1385 and 1467. The strong presumption is that the name is identical with Anwyl. There can be no such doubt about the names of "Madog ap Hewe Lloit ap D'd Annwyll" of Tremeirchion in the county of Flint, who received the royal pardon in October, 1527, as well as that of "Dafydd annwil ap gwyn ap grono", who lived at Hope ("yr hob") in the same county, and is mentioned in the pedigree book of "John Brooke o Vowthoy", dated 1390-1. Lewis ap Robert of Park, Llanfrothen, Merioneth (who died in 1605) is said to have been the first of his family to adopt Anwyl as a surname. His son, described as "Lewis Anwill (Anvill), Mer., arm.", in the Oxford University Register, entered Oriel College in December, 1612, while two other Anwyls, referred to as "Anwill" and "Amvill", were undergraduates in 1610.

We have referred to the surnames Baugh, Bache, etc., which come from *bach*, "little". A great deal of documentary evidence could be adduced to prove this derivation with regard to most of the variants given in Lists Nos. 2 and 6, but having regard to the prevalence of the Welsh language in the Marches generations ago, the imitative origin of this class of surnames can be inferred without such evidence. A good number of other forms of this surname, which are now obsolete, could be quoted. The names of two fields in "the suburbs of Hereford" are mentioned in a deed, dated 10th July, 1636, in Lord Brougham's Report on the charities of that city, published in 1838, namely, *cae bagh*, "little field" and *gworlod heere* (*gwerlodd hir*), "long meadow". B and P are mutated in Welsh and so are B and F (or V), hence we have such transitions as Bick either to Pick or Vick. Pickman and Vicker may perhaps be doubtful derivatives.

Boffin is a well-known family name at Oxford, and there is conclusive documentary evidence to prove its derivation from *vychan*, "little".

Bengough is derived from *Pen coch*, or *bengoch*, literally "red head", i.e., red haired or red complexioned. This descriptive term did not survive as a name in Wales. It is limited to the Marches, and so is Bengry, for *Bengrych*, "curly head", the final guttural *ch* having been dropped. The following extract is taken from the parish register of Mallwyd, Montgomeryshire, under the year 1584: "David Bengrych was buried the XX<sup>th</sup> day of m'che the yeare above written". Similar descriptive terms such as Benarw, "rugged head"; Benndew, "fat head"; Benllloid, "grey head"; Benwyn, "white head" and Benvras, "strong head", occur in sixteenth and seventeenth century Welsh pedigrees.

Brace comes from *bras*, "thick, bulky, strong, etc." Bras is found as a name in the Black Book of St. David's. Cadarn means "strong." It is found as a descriptive term and as a surname in old Welsh pedigrees and ancient records, for instance, one "Lwellino vychan ab bwa gadarne" is mentioned in George Owen's "Pembroke-shire", edited by the late Dr. Henry Owen (Cymmrodorion Records Series, Vol. I., p. 180). A commission was directed in February, 1529, to "Henry Caddarne, gent. and Thomas Jhons, gent." to enquire into a matter relating to John Penwyn and the lordship of Kidwelly.

Cam, Camm, Came, Games, Kemn, etc. Cam, "crooked" or "bent", is a descriptive epithet found in early records. One John Cam was sheriff of Merioneth in 1316, but perhaps Sir David Gam is the best known celebrity who bore this name. Although disloyal to the Welsh cause, he was a valiant soldier who fell at Agincourt. He is described in a Welsh pedigree, compiled in 1592, as "Sir david gam ap ll'n ap h'oll". Games is

regarded as a Brecknockshire name, and one Thomas Games was M.P. for the county in 1573. "Ilewelyn Vaughan ap Morgan ap David Game" was appointed chancellor of the lordship of "Brechon" in May, 1528. Cam is the name of a parish in Gloucestershire, hence the surname may also be derived from that place name.

Cank and Crank may come from *cranc*, literally meaning "crab", but commonly used as a term of contempt for an odd or eccentric person, a person whose movements are uncertain and whose judgment is considered unsound. The English word "crank" has a somewhat similar meaning. Crank can also be claimed as a surname of English origin. Bardsley derives the surname from a place name in Lancashire, but Weekley in his "Surnames" (1916) states that its meaning is "crooked," which (excluding dishonesty) rather implies the meaning of the term in Welsh.

Crowther comes from *crythor*, a player of the *crwth* or fiddle. Reference is made in the Black Book of St. David's (1326) to a S. Pembrokehire survey of a burgage tenement, which formerly belonged "to le Crowther". One Guttyn Grythor lived at Dolgelley in 1457. The pedigree is given in a MS., dated 1550, in the Cardiff Library, of the descendants of "Tho. vychan ap tho. grythor" of "Kil y vai".

Dee is the Anglicised form of *du*, "black". This was the name borne by a remarkable man, Dr. John Dee, who was regarded as a seer, but was also a distinguished scholar, held in great esteem by Queen Elizabeth. His pedigree is given in a Welsh MS. dated 1590, catalogued by the late Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, which commences thus, "ach John dee nunc vivens, natus 1527". He died in 1608.

Dew and Tew are mutated names from *teu*, "fat". It frequently occurs in Welsh pedigrees and in records

dating from the fourteenth century. The name Ieuan Dewe appears in the Lord of "Mowthoy" Charter of 1391, and reference is made to "Eva filia et cohaeres Hugonis Tewe D'ni de Waverton", in the Heraldic Visitation of Shropshire (1623).

Donne, Downes, Dunn, etc. While some persons bearing these names in the Border Counties may be able to derive their family name from other sources, the word *dwn*, "swarthy", is the origin of most, if not all, of these surnames. The Heraldic Visitation of Worcestershire (1569) contains the pedigree of "John Dunne", otherwise "John ap Stephen al's Dun", whose son was called Lewis Dunn. He is not to be confused with "Lewes ap Rhis ap Owen al's Dun of Bettus in the cantred of Kedewen within the coñtie of Montgomerie", as Lewis Dwnn of the "Heraldic Visitations of Wales" is described in the royal patent, granted to him, on the 3rd February, 1585. Done is a very old name in Cheshire. "Ralph Donne, Daune or Donna of Stratton" was pardoned by Henry VIII. in July, 1509. The pedigree of "Gr. dwn ap ow. dwn ap Rob. dwn ap gr", etc., of Llandyfaelog, Glamorgan, is given in one of Lord Mostyn's MSS., dated 1592. The poet Dr. John Dunne (1573-1631), Dean of St. Paul's, was known as "John Dunn" when M.P. for Brackley in 1601, and "Dun" when Member for Taunton in 1614. An obsolete form Doone is mentioned in the parish register of Pilleth, Radnorshire, where John Doone lived and died in 1626.

Duppa is the Welsh personal name Dwppa, which now appears to be obsolete in Wales. The name of a Rys Doppa, who lived in New Radnor, is given in the Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397. John Brook of Mawddwy traced his descent in his pedigree (1590-91) from one Meuric Dwppa. It was a Herefordshire name in the reign of Charles I. Richard Duppa

(1770-1831), artist and author, was born at Culmington, Shropshire. The surname is now confined to Shropshire. It is not at all clear what *dwypa* means. "Small and tidy", "short", "stunted", "stupid", etc., are some of the interpretations given of the word.

Fane and Vane come from *fain*, "slender". "Sir Gruff. ap Hoell", also called "Sir Gruff. Vayn", is mentioned in a State document, dated 9th July, 1533; and the name of one "David ap Howell Vayne" is given in the Visitation of Shropshire (1623).

Flood, Floyd, Fluit, etc., are variants of Lloyd, derived from *llwyd*, "brown" or "grey". This surname is known throughout the English-speaking world. It has been spelt in many ways in the distant past, e.g., Floide, Flud, Fluitt, Lloayde, Llooyde, Looyde, Lhuid, Luyd, Thloyd, etc., but its number of variants have now become standardised. Loit is a surname found in England.

Foyle, Fowles, Moyle, Mole, Moules, Vowles, etc., come from *moel*, "bald" or "bare". It is also a Cornish name derived from a Cornish word of cognate meaning. The name of Howell Voyl of Ardudwy, Merioneth, is mentioned in the Sheriff's account (Exchequer) in 1285, and the names of "Phillip ap Owen Moyle" of "Arustleye" in the county of Montgomery, "Annie Moile", and "James Voell of Penkelli" are given in the Heraldic Visitation of Shropshire of 1623. The name of "Ywain moel ab Jeu. ab Gurgenui" is given in a Mostyn MS., dated 1572, and one "David Gryffyth *alias* Moyle" is mentioned in the State Papers (Domestic), Ed. VI., under the date, 18th August, 1549.

The surname Gittins has a double Welsh derivation. It has been evolved from *gethin*, "ugly, rough, uncomely, terrible", etc., and from Guttyn, a pet name or nickname for Griffith. Some of the variants given in Lists Nos. 2 and 6 are obviously derived from Gethin, while the re-



mainder may come from either source. The name Gutyn Cethin, a bard who flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century, may have had descendants who could have claimed either derivation. A pedigree of a Gittins family is given in the above-named Visitation of Shropshire, and is as follows :—

Gruff. ab Jevan  
|  
Guttine ap Gruff.  
|  
Rees ap Guttyn  
|  
Thomas Guttyns

whence, after six generations, the name became stabilised as "Gittins".

Gough, Goff, Goss, Gooch, Cock, etc., have their origin in *coch*, "red", i.e., red haired or of red complexion. This well-known surname Gough, like Donne, has a long historical record. Canon Bardsley describes it "as one of the very few nicknames that can be found in Welsh directories". It is, of course, also found in English and American directories. Weekley states that the form Couch (found in Devon and Somerset) is Cornish. That may be the case with most of the Couch families, but both Gouch and Couch can rightly be claimed as Welsh forms. The name "Griffin Couch" appears in a Patent Roll, dated 1290, relating to leases of waste lands belonging to Montgomery Castle, and Thos. Gouch of Ewias land, is mentioned in Llyfr Baglan (1600-7). Doubt has been expressed as to the derivation of Goss from *coch*. Goce, Goz, Goze, Gouz and Gouze are found in ancient records, whence Goss. The form Goze is found in the Visitation of Shropshire (1623), which was published by the Harleian Society in 1889 (see p. 465). C and G are mutated in Welsh, and z or s is the softened form of c in the guttural *ch*, which has so

puzzled English tongues, just as *ck* is its hardened form. The cypher "z" was used by English scribes to represent *ch*. *Goch* has undergone precisely similar transitions as *Bach* in the Border Counties. Compare Goff with Boffin, from Bychan. The name Goff appears in the parish registers of Garway, Mon., as Goof (1758) and Goaf (1769).

Glass, etc., from *glas*, "blue" or "green". The surnames Glace and Lace, which now appear to be obsolete in the Marches and in English-speaking and other parts of Wales, also come from the same source. The name Ieuan ap David ap Glas, found in the Black Book of St. David's, carries the implication that Glas, like Wyn, was used as a personal name. Mr. Arthur Mee in "Notes and Queries" (November, 1888) described Glass as a surname, derived from this Welsh colour name, and found as such in the registers of the parish church of Llanelly, Carmarthenshire. John Glasse, D.D., was a Justice of the Peace for Hereford in 1799.

Gwilt comes from *gwyllt*, "wild", and Gwyn, Wynne, and its variants from another colour term, *gwyn*, "white". Gwyn has been used both as a personal name and a surname from very early times. Gwyn ab Nudd was a personal name in the days of the Mabinogion. The initial letter *G*, when followed by *w* in Welsh words, is dropped in certain instances, and the shedding of the first letter is merely a matter of grammatical accuracy. John Gwynne, who was M.P. for Cardigan in 1563, is probably identical with "John Wynne", who was the Member in 1559. Quine expresses an Anglicised form of Gwyn, where the English *Q* is equated with the Welsh *gw*. The surname Gwynnesmith in Worcestershire is somewhat singular. It was probably, at the outset, a quaint or illiterate spelling of "gunsmith", which became standardised, in that form, as a surname.

Mayer, Maher, Mawer, More, etc. Lower asserts in his "English Surnames" (1875) that many names of Welsh origin are common in England, and he includes More among them. Just as Back, Begg, etc., come from *Bach* and, likewise, Vaughan from *Vychan*, both words meaning "little", so one would expect surnames derived for the opposite epithet *mawr*, meaning "great". The term would be so applied to denote a person above the ordinary stature, as in "Twna goz. ap ll. ap Jankyn mawr" (Cardiff MS. 25), or to express greatness, as in "Tydwal ap Rodri Mawr". It is highly probable that the Cheshire surnames, given in List No. 5, are derived from *mawr*, just as More is one of its derivatives.

Mellin, Mellen, etc., come from *melyn*, "yellow". "Ric. Mellyn" (and "Thomas Gwyn") are the names of two of the persons, who signed a document in September, 1538, surrendering Grey Friars, Cardiff, to the King. "Jevan gwyn ap ho'l melyn" of Gower is mentioned in a pedigree, drawn out by Dafydd Benwyn (1550-1600), in a MS. preserved in the Cardiff Library.

Penn is, I think, rightly claimed as a Welsh surname. The pedigree of "Tho. Pen ap Humphrey pen hen" of "Y Gordwr issa" in Powys, is to be found in a Welsh MS. dated 1590-1 (see "Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language," Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 369, by the late Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, published by the Historical MSS. Commission in 1898). Robert Pen, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was granted an annuity from the lordship of Denbigh in January, 1512; and John Penn, groom of the Privy Chamber, was appointed clerk of the peace and other official positions, in the town and lordship of Haverfordwest in 1550. The fact that the ancestors of William Penn (1614-1718) came from Minety, Gloucestershire, in the Marches, appears to point to a Welsh origin. The name may well describe a person whose judgment was

weighty, i.e., a man "with a head" on him, or the surname may be derived from a place name, signifying a height or top (*pen*). Penwarden is a combination which any Welshman would interpret as "head warden". This surname is probably of Cornish, rather than of Welsh, origin.

Preedy, Priddy, Priddey, Preddy, etc. These names, although bearing a striking similarity to each other, probably represent two or three different surnames, with their respective variants, which cannot now be separately traced. Priddy and Preedy differ slightly in pronunciation, for that is the distinguishing test between these two particular names, and not the difference in spelling. Priddin may also come from a source other than either Priddy or Preedy. I am convinced that they have all a Welsh origin, but this does not exclude an English derivation as well. It is difficult to assert, with certainty, the particular derivation whence any variant among them may come. One well-known county historian is of opinion that Priddy is an Anglicised "variant of Prothero for Prydderch, ap Rhydderch", and he states that the name appears as Briddy on a monument in Llansanffraid Church, Monmouthshire. Priddey as a surname is now uncommon, if not obsolete, in that county. The following entry, "Jana filia Johannis Priddoth", occurs in the parish register of Garway (Mon.) in 1709. This name is suggestive of Priddith, i.e., Prydydd, "bard", as a possible origin of Priddy or Priddey. The descriptive term *prydydd* is found in Welsh pedigrees, for instance a Gwentian poet is described as "Gwilym tew brydydd", i.e., "Fat William, the poet", in a pedigree compiled between 1550 and 1600, and Madock Brydith is one of the persons mentioned in the charter of John, Lord of Mowthoy, granted in 1391. "John ap John Ap Predith, *alias* John Wyn of Chirbury, Salop, yeoman", was pardoned in March, 1536, for hav-

ing carried off 15 sheep which belonged to Thos. Cresset, of Staunton, Salop. Another derivation may be from Predyr, a corrupted and contracted English form of *Peredur*. Priddy is the name of a parish in the Mendip Hills in Somerset, which may account for the origin and prevalence of this surname in that county and Gloucestershire, the adjoining county. The place name Priddy may be a corruption of a Welsh name, but its origin is obscure. The Cheshire forms Priddin and Priddey are also found in Flintshire parishes bordering on that county. Pridden and Pridding were surnames of benefactors to the parochial charities of Holt. Pryddin is an existing surname in Worcestershire. It sounds distinctly Welsh. A writer on the "Art of Nomenclature" in the "Cornhill Magazine" for May, 1876, declares that Redding is a variant of Meredith, hence Priddin or Pridding may be traceable to "ap Redding", or it may be an Anglicised form of *Prydain*, the Welsh word for "Britain", which, as a surname, is included in List No. 3 and dealt with in Class No. 3. H. B. Guppy in his "Homes of Family Names in Great Britain" (1890) states that "the Pridays of Gloucestershire are probably connected with an old Evesham family of Preedy, which supplied nine Mayors to Worcester between 1716 and 1825". The difference in the pronunciation of Priday and Preedy hardly supports that contention and connection. The respective derivations of these puzzling surnames and their variants (and other surnames as well) can, perhaps, only be elucidated by an exhaustive examination and study of parish registers and records, in the Marches of Wales, during the eighteenth century.

Saer, "mason", is a descriptive term repeatedly found in the Black Book of St. David's in the forms Saer and Sayr, e.g., Ieuan Saer. One of the persons mentioned is called Sayrhir, the "tall (or long) mason". It is also a

descriptive epithet found in the Record of Caernarvon (1353).

The surname Sayce and its variants comes from Sais, an Englishman or a person speaking the English tongue. It occurs as a descriptive term in almost every Welsh record and pedigree from the fourteenth century down to the times when some of its numerous forms (many of which are now obsolete) became stabilised. They remain with us to-day as surnames and are included in Lists Nos. 2 and 6. One "Jevan Wynne ap Jevan ap Ll'n Says of Lampeter in the commote of Ardyddowey, co. Merioneth" was granted a royal pardon on the 29th March, 1513.

Shute and Shutt come from *syth*, "straight". The late Mr. R. Williams of Newtown stated in "Bye Gones" (Vol. VIII, p. 446) in 1887 that, on reference to the parish registers of Llanbrynmair, Montgomeryshire, "the surname is at first written Syth, some years later Sute, then Shoot and Shute". It is not to be confused with either Chute, originally a Kentish surname, or with Schute, supposed to be of German origin, which are family names found to-day in the Border Counties.

Teague, Teek, Teage, Heague, etc. Teague is an Anglicised form of *teg*, "fair". Teek and Teage are obvious variants of Teague. The parish register of Linton, Herefordshire, contains the name of one John Teagie, who died in 1688, aged 74; hence the surname is an early one. Heague is a decapitated Teague with the second letter aspirated, and can be compared with Deykin and Eykin, and Evan and Heaven.

Tew is from *tew*, "fat". Thomas Tewe of "Bradwardyn", Herefordshire, was granted the royal pardon in March, 1513. The names David Tewe and Ieuan Tew occur in the Record of Carnarvon as tenants in 1347 in Creuddyn and Nantconway respectively. Dew, Dewe, etc.,

are mutated forms of Tew, with a terminal *s* added to the surname in Worcestershire.

Tunna comes from a Welsh personal name, Twna, which is probably to be equated with Dwn or Donna. Reference has been made to one Ralph Donna living at Stratton in Cheshire in 1585, the only county in which Tunna, as an existing surname, still survives. The name of "Jenkin Tonna of Rithland" appears in the Heraldic Visitation of Cheshire in 1613; and the name of Twna, the paternal grandfather of Anne, the daughter of Belyn ap Twne, is given in the Heraldic Visitation of Somerset in 1623. She was the grandmother of Sir Thomas Hughes, a knight living, at that date, at Wells. Fulk ap John Tona was a tenant of lands near Ruthin in 1550, and the name of "Twna goz ap Ll. ap Jankyn vawr" is given in a Welsh pedigree, compiled between 1591 and 1595, now preserved at the Cardiff Library (MS. 51, p. 254).

Vowles has developed from Voell, for *voel* or *moel*, "bald", just as Howles is a development of Howell or Hoell. There is an existing variant Voyle in Carmarthenshire corresponding with Foyle and Moyle, but there do not appear to be such developments as Fowles and Mowles among existing family names, except Moules. The name of "John Voyell", who lived at the end of the sixteenth century, occurs in Dwnn's "Heraldic Visitations of Wales", published in 1846 (see Vol. I, p. 72).

Wace and Wase come from *gwas* or *was*, "a servant". It is a descriptive term found in old Welsh records, e.g., Richard Was and Adaf ap Wastew, "fat servant", in the Black Book of St. David's, and *Gwasmaur*, "head servant", in George Owen's "Pembrokeshire", etc. The surname survives in the form Wass in Flintshire, and, if lists of Parliamentary voters in the Marches were examined, Wass would very likely be discovered.

Welch, Welsh, Welchman, Welshman, Welsman, etc.,

need no comment. An early reference to this descriptive epithet is found in the Visitation Returns of the diocese of Hereford in 1397, where the name of one "Johannes Walisshe" of Cowarn Magna occurs. The royal pardon was granted to "Thos. Jeynes, of the parish of Goldeclyff, marches of Wales, grazier, *alias* Thos. Jones, *alias* Thos. Walssheman, of Beaulieu, Hants, yeoman" for the death of another grazier, on the 23rd June, 1538.

Wythes is probably derived from Whith, a descriptive term found in the Record of Caernarvon in connection with the name of Lewelyn Whith, who lived in Creuddyn, Caernarvonshire. Griffith ap Dicus Whith of Llanfyllin (1541) and Adda ap David Chwith of Harlech, as well as Llewelyn ap Joukus Whith of Towyn (1540), are names of persons in legal records in the years given. Wyth may come either from *chwith*, "left", or an Anglicised form of *gwêydd*, "a weaver".

### 3. PLACE NAMES USED AS SURNAMES.

#### List No. 3.

Alington.	Conway.
Arden, Ardern ( <i>see</i> Hawarden).	Combe, Combs, Coombe,
Baglan, Bagland, Baglin.	Craig. [Coombey.
Berlyn.	Crum, Crump.
Blaen, Blain, Blane.	Cruwys.
Blayney, Bleney, Playne.	Cumber ( <i>see</i> Cambray).
Breckon.	Derwas.
Brittain, Britten, Britton.	D'Iwyn.
Bruten, Bruton (? Breeden).	Dinham.
Buckley, Bulkeley.	Eaton, Eyton.
Caffin, Coffin, Kyffin.	Ely.
Cair.	Esgar, Isgar.
Caldicott.	Flint.
Cambray, Kembrey.	Forden.
Cardif, Cardiff.	Freeth, Frith.
Carew, Carey, Cary.	Frowen.
Carn, Carnes, Carney.	Garn, Garne, Karn ( <i>see</i> Carn).
Clough.	Glascott.
Cogan, Coggan, Coggin,	Glenn, Gloyn, Gloyne, Glyn,
Coggins.	Glynn.



Gomer, Gummery.	Neath.
Gorst.	Newport.
Gower, Gwyer.	Newton.
Grogan.	Norton.
Gwinnett, Gwioneth, Winnett.	Overton.
Hamar, Hamer, Hammer.	Penrice.
Hammer.	Penrose.
Hargest.	Playne ( <i>see</i> Blaen).
Hawarden.	Powis, Powys.
Hollywell.	Powlesland, Powsland.
Isgar ( <i>see</i> Esgar).	Rose, Ross, Rosson, Rouse,
Karn ( <i>see</i> Carn).	Rowse.
Kelly.	Rosevear, Roseveare, Ros-
Kenmis, Kemeys-Tynte.	vere.
Kembrey ( <i>see</i> Cambray).	Rumney.
Kerrey, Kerry.	Severn.
Kyffin ( <i>see</i> Coffin).	Shotton.
Landor.	Skarratt, Skerratt, Skerrett,
Laufear, Llanfear, Llanfer.	Skerritt.
Laugharne.	Stanton.
Laugher, Lougher.	Stintern.
Lidard, Liddleatt, Liddiard.	Sully.
Lidyard, Lyddiatt, Lydiate.	Trawin, Trewin, Winson,
Llanman.	Winstone.
Llanwarne.	Tremelling.
Luget, Lugg.	Trerice.
Machen, Machin, Michen.	Trevaldwyn.
Magor.	Trevan.
Mahler, Maylor, Mealor.	Trevethan.
Makin, Meakin, Meakins.	Trewent, Went.
Malpas, Malpass.	Van.
Maughan.	Walwyn.
Maysmor.	Wenlock.
Middleton.	Went ( <i>see</i> Trewent).
Mold, Mould.	Wigmore.
Montgomery.	Winson, Winstone ( <i>see</i>
Moss.	Trewin).
Mostyn.	Wales, Wale.
Nash.	Winnet ( <i>see</i> Gwinnett).

The surnames included in this class and contained in Lists Nos. 3 and 7, are limited to either Welsh place names, or to Anglicised forms of such original names, together with English place names in Wales and Monmouthshire. Place names in the Marches are excluded unless known

to be Welsh in origin or generally accepted as such ; for instance, Hereford is said to be derived from its accepted Welsh name *Hen ffordd*, " the old road " or " way ", but as this is a controversial subject (according to Duncomb's " History of Hereford ", Vol. I., 1804, pp. 221-2) the name, as a surname, is excluded.

There is a fair sprinkling of Cornish names and some Irish surnames in the Border Counties, which appear to be Welsh, but unless they are common to either Cornwall or Ireland (as the case may be), as well as to Wales, they are likewise excluded ; for instance, such Cornish names as Pengelley, Tregunna, Trevena, etc. Names such as Cruwys, Penrose, Trewin, etc., which are both Welsh and Cornish, are included in this class. The rhyme

" By Tre, Pol and Pen  
Ye shall know Cornish-men ".

is not always a safe guide. There *are* some Welsh surnames, though few in number, which commence with Tre and Pen, but *Pwll*, the Welsh equivalent of " Pol " and its Anglicised form " Pill ", has been " pilled " in Welsh nomenclature. One or two doubtful Welsh or Irish surnames will be found in this class.

Alington is the English translation of Trefalun in the parish of Gresford, Denbighshire, and Baglan is a place name in Glamorgan. Berlyn, a Monmouthshire surname, appears to be a Welsh place name, made up of two elements, namely, *aber*, coupled with the name of a river or stream, probably in a contracted form.

Blaen, Blayne, etc. These names are derived from *Blaenau*, the head of a valley. This is a common place name in Wales, and it is probable that a number of persons, at different periods, adopted Blaenau, in its Anglicised forms, as a family name. It is stated in Sir Thomas Phillips's " Glamorganshire Pedigrees ", that one Howel, the son of David, married a daughter of " Mirick ap Evan

ap Jenkin, of Blaen Idlyfni, gent.", and that their son Evan, took Blayne as his surname. The name of this "Ievan ap hoewell Blayne", occurs in the Book of Baglan (1600-1607). His descendants became "Blayney", and their residence was Kinsham, near Presteign. An ancient family of this name, had their seat at Gregynog, in the county of Montgomery. Sir Edward Blayney, a member of the family, was created a Baron in the peerage of Ireland in 1621, as Lord Blayney of Monaghan. It is probable that he was a descendant of "Jevan blayne ap Ieu : ap Koedmor ap Ithell ap meilir ddy", of "Kyfeiliog", whose pedigree is given in a Mostyn MS. (No. 114), dated 1592. David Blayney of All Souls and Magdalen Colleges, who came from the county of Montgomery, graduated at Oxford in 1585. Among the benefactors of the parochial charities of Bettws Cedewain, in that county, are John Blayney in 1751; Arthur Blaney or Blayney, Richard Blayney and Mrs. Joyous (Joyce) Blaney, prior to the year 1782. A person of this name lived at Strata Florida in 1603, and the birth of one Tho. Blaney is recorded in the parish register of New Radnor in 1752. Blainey and Blayney have been Shropshire surnames for over three centuries, and Bleney was a family name, in the county of Hereford, before 1569. John Blayne was a tenant in Redeliff Street, Bristol, in 1548.

Breckon, Brecknock as a surname was prevalent in Oxfordshire in the fifteenth century, and there was a Welsh scholar at the University of Oxford, named "Hugh Brekenok", in 1461.

Brittain, Britten, etc., are English names derived from the Welsh equivalent, *Prydain*, which thus exists, as a surname, in its Welsh form, at Cardigan. The name "Thom. Britton" occurs in the Heraldic Visitation of Worcester (1569). Bruton and Bruton, as well as Breedon, may be variants of Brittain, but if so, Breedon is

also a place name in Leicestershire, whence this particular variant or surname may have emanated. Buckley and Bulkeley are presumably derived from Buckley in Flintshire, or from a township in the parish of Malpas, Cheshire. Bardsley remarks that the "Buckleys of cos. Lancashire and Cheshire are nearly all Bulkeleys by descent". The Bulkeleys were settled in Anglesey about 1440, when their ancestor William Bulkeley (Lord Hotcroft of Cheshire) was made Constable of Beaumaris Castle. The Bulkeleys were, as a family, great and powerful in Anglesey for centuries, and the present Lord Lieutenant bears that distinguished name.

Caffin, Coffin, Kyffin. Cyffin is a hamlet in Montgomeryshire and the name (Gyffin) of a parish in Caernarvonshire. The word *cyffin* means a "limit" or "confine". It is stated in the (Heraldic) Visitation of Shropshire (1623) that "Madoc ap Madoc of Cynlleth, who lived 1530, assumed the name of Kyffin", whence descended Ellis ap Richard, whose son Rd. Kyffin also named his own child Richard Kyffin, who was two years of age in 1623. Another version is to the effect that "Madoc Cyffyn assumed the surname Cyffin from a place of that name in Llangedwyn", (a parish in the ancient division of Cynlleth), "in order to distinguish himself from his father Madoc Goch or Gough about the end of the 16th century". A well known family, now extinct, namely, the Kyffins of Bodfach in Montgomeryshire, were descendants of Madoc Kyffin.

Cair is a Somerset surname, probably derived from the Welsh *cacr*, "a fortress," through the Latin *castra*. Carey and Carew come from the plural of *cacr*, namely, *cacrau*. Carey and Carew are also Irish surnames, emanating from Pembrokehire, where Carew castle is situated. There is a hamlet in South Herefordshire called Carey, situated about five miles from Ross. Carew and

its variants have been surnames for centuries. The Rev. Nich. Carewe was promised the next presentation to "Grefford" (Gresford) church, in the diocese of St. Asaph, in April, 1526.

Caldicott is the name of a parish in Monmouthshire, near Chepstow. It is also the name of an estate in Cheshire, whence the Calcotts, a powerful Manx family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, derived their family name. One John Caldecott is mentioned, in the Visitation of Worcester, in 1569.

Cambray and Kembray are variants of Cambria, the Anglicised form of *Cymru*, which is the Welsh name for Wales. Cumber is a cognate Celtic name, whence Cumberland. The Visitation of Shropshire (1623), gives the pedigree of one John ap Rees, whose son was Jenkin Cambray of Wollarton, and grandson John Jenkes of Wollarton, whence came the Jenkes family.

Cardiff, etc. Catherine, the widow of Paul Cardiff, is mentioned in the Visitation of the County of Gloucester (1569).

Carn, Carney, etc., Garn, Garne, Karn, etc., are derived from *carn* or *garn*, a Welsh and Celtic term meaning a cairn, but applied as a place name, to designate a fairly high and barren hill. The Carnes of Nash, Glamorgan, were descended from Ynyr, King of Gwent. His great grandson, Thomas *o'r* Carne, was brought up at Pencarn, whence he was named Carne. Sir Edward Carne of Cowbridge was British Ambassador at Rome in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. He died in 1561. A well known Glamorgan bard was called Thomas Carn. He lived at the end of the sixteenth century. William Carne of Ledbury and the Carne family of Ewenny, Glamorgan, are mentioned in the Book of Baglan (1600-1607). Roger Carne was granted a lease in February, 1535, of certain lands "within the lordship of Rhythyn,

Glamorgan", and one William Garne was a householder in Bristol in 1548.

Clough is cognate with the Irish place name Clogh, and is said to be the Anglicised form of the Welsh *cluch*, "crag" or "rocky hillock". It is also an English word, meaning a "ravine", usually with a torrent bed. Clough is the name of a rivulet in the northern division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and there is a Clough Hall in Staffordshire. Sir Richard Clough (1520-1570), a native of Denbigh, was an enterprising foreign merchant and was the second husband of Catherine of Berain. He lived at Plas Clough, near Denbigh, and died at Hamburg.

Cogan is a parish near Cardiff, whence the surnames Cogan, Coggan, Coggin, etc., are derived, but they are also Irish surnames. Katherine Cogan was a tenant of a messuage in Cardiff in September, 1550.

Conway is an old Welsh surname. Peter Connewey, Archdeacon of St. Asaph, received a royal pardon in 1509. The Conwy family of Bodryddan, Flintshire, traces its descent from Sir Hugh Conwy, kt., the first ancestor to adopt Conwy as a surname. His son, Sir Harry Conwy, was Lord of Prestatyn in the reign of Edward I. Conway is one of our oldest surnames and it constantly occurs in Welsh records. It was and is a well-known family name and is found among English-speaking communities all the world over.

Combe, Combs, Coombe, etc., are Anglicised versions of *cwm*, a deep valley. Coomb is a common Celtic place name throughout the land. There is a parish called Comb, in the township of Presteign, but situated in the county of Hereford. The pedigree is given in the Visitation of Warwickshire of John Combe of Ashley, whose grandson was the grandfather of one William Combe, aged 31, in the year 1619. Craig is another common Celtic name and Cruwys is both Welsh and Cornish. There is a parish

called Llan y crwys in Carmarthenshire. Crum and Crump may well be Welsh. Crymlyn Bog is a swamp near Neath in Glamorgan, and Crymnych is a place name in Monmouthshire.

Derwas is presumably a Montgomeryshire place name. The Rev. Rd. Derwas founded a charity in his native parish of Meifod in 1732, and Mary Derwas made a bequest, before 1786, to the parishioners of Llandrinio. Rees Derwas served on the Grand Jury, in that county, in 1581, and the surname Derwas appears in a list of voters at a Montgomeryshire Parliamentary election in 1774.

Dilwyn comes from Dilwyn, a parish in the county of Hereford. The late Lewis Ll. Dillwyn, M.P. for Swansea, some 30 to 40 years ago (at one time the "Father" of the House of Commons), was a member of a family descending from Sir John Dilwyn of Dilwyn. Ieuan Deulwyn, a learned Welsh poet of Glamorgan, flourished in the fifteenth century. He took his *nom de plume* or surname, from a place called Pen deulwyn, but as there are two places of that name, one in Glamorgan and the other near Kidwelly (Cydweli) in Carmarthenshire, the particular *du lwyn* (two groves), he selected for his name, is in doubt.

Dinham is a place name found in various counties in Wales, and is a parish in Monmouthshire, about four miles south-west of Chepstow. Eaton, Eyton and Ely are common English place names. Eyton is a township in Denbighshire and gave its family name to the Eytons of Eyton, near Wrexham. There is an old saying in the Wrexham district :—

" When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?  
Eyton of Eyton and Jones of Llwynnonn,  
These were then the gentlemen ".

The pedigree of " John Eütun ap James ap mad. ap

Jewan'', is given in a Mostyn MS. dated about 1572. Ely is the name of a "village" near Cardiff in Glamorgan.

Esgar and Isgar suggest *Esgair* and *Isgaer*, both Welsh place names, as their respective derivation. *Esgair* geiliog is a place name near Corris (Merioneth), and *Llan-fair* is *gaer* is a parish in Caernarvonshire. There are probably places thus respectively called in the Marches. *Esgair* means a "ridge", when used as a place name, and *is gaer* means "below the fortress". *Isgar* is an old Gloucestershire name. The will of one Nicholas Isgar of Cheddar, Somerset, was proved at Canterbury, in 1635. Flint, as a surname, occurs in a number of the Border Counties. Mr. Flintt of Holywell, founded a parochial charity at Ysceifiog, in the county of Flint, in 1774. Forden is a parish in Montgomeryshire. Freeth and Frith come from a Celtic source. *Ffridd*, pronounced "freeth" (with the *th* soft), is the common Welsh word for a sheep enclosure or grazing ground. Frith is the name of a hamlet in Cheshire, a few miles south-west of Nantwich. Frowen is a Welsh place name, namely, *y fro wen*, the "white", "sunlit" or "bright district"; but no proof can be adduced that the surname is thus derived.

Glascott comes from *glas coed*, "the green trees". It is the name of a number of old mansions and farms in Wales. Glascoed is the name of a parish in Monmouthshire, about three miles west of Usk, and Glascote is a place name in the county of Warwick, near Tamworth.

Glenn, Gloyn, Glynne, etc., come from *glyn*, a "little valley" or a "glen". It is a common place name in our country of hills and mountains. Glyn is one of the earliest place names used as a baptismal or Christian name in Wales. The names of "Jevan ap Glin Lln" and "Morgan ap Jevan ap Glin", occur as persons living in the Marches in 1509, and one "Thos. ap Glin, late of Ewiasland", was pardoned in 1535. The name was being



adopted, about that period, as a surname. We read in the State Papers of Henry VIII. that both " John Glyn or Glynne, clk., dean of Bangor, *alias* John ap Griffith, clk." and " Maurice Glyne or Glynne, archdeacon of Bangor, *alias* Maurice Glyn, gent., *alias* Maurice ap Robert ap Meredyth ap Hukyn Lloyt ", were granted royal pardons in May, 1509. The best known family in Wales, of this name, is that of the Glynnes of Glynllifon, Caernarvonshire, who, according to M. A. Lower in " *Patronymica Britannica* " (1860), " assumed the local name in the 16th century ". Glynn is also a Cornish place name. Thos. Glynn of Glynn, in the parish of Cardinham, Cornwall, resided there in 1620, the year the Visitation of Cornwall was compiled. Glyn is an uncommon surname in Wales, but it is becoming very popular, these days, as a baptismal name or as a " second " name.

Gomer and Gummery. These names are closely associated. Gummery, presumably another Anglicised version of *Cymru*, comes from Gomer, a traditional personage, from whom Wales (*Cymru*) derived its name. Gomery is and was a popular surname in the parish of Linton, Herefordshire.

Gorst, a Cheshire surname, is said to be derived from the Welsh word *gors*, a marsh or swamp, as in the place name Llangorse, Breconshire. I believe the late Sir John Gorst asserted that his family name was Welsh. There is a Gorst Hill in Worcestershire, a few miles south-east of Cleobury Mortimer.

Gower is a peninsula in Glamorgan with historical associations. Its Welsh name is Gwyr. The surname Gower may have had a Norman origin from Goher in Normandy, but there can be no doubt that the family name of Gower also comes from this old Welsh seignory with its ancient name. The fact that Walter de Guher paid scutage in 1130, for his lands at Carmarthen, is not

conclusive that even his descriptive name referred to the Norman Goher rather than to the Welsh Gwyr. Henry Gower, the Bishop of St. David's, who did so much to beautify his cathedral, took his surname from Gower. He died in 1347.

Grogan appears to be a Welsh place name, and may be compared with *Grogen* in Edeyrnion, Merioneth. Grogan and Groogan are Irish surnames given in the late Sir Robert E. Matheson's Lists (1901).

Gwinnett, Gwioneth, etc. Gwinnett is an interesting surname derived from Gwynedd (Venedocia), a name for North Wales, more especially applied to its north-west portion. It is stated in the Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1569, that "George Gwyneth descended out of Carnarvonshire in North Wales". His son is described as "Richard Gwyneth of Sherdington", while his grandson is called "George Gwinnet of Great Sherdington" and his great-grandson as "Richard Gwinnett of Sherdington". Button Gwinnett (1732-1776), "a native of Wales", was one of the signatories to the American Declaration of Independence, the year he died. He was President of the State of Georgia. "David Gwynneyth" of Denbigh, was a pilgrim to Rome in 1506, and the "Rev. John Gwynneth, clerk", followed John Glyn as the rector of a church, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, in 1534. He may be identical with the Rev. John Gwynyth, who brought a law suit, in 1545, against a number of persons, "who had carried away corn belonging to the Provostship of Clynnog Fawr", Caernarvonshire. The surname is found to-day in Glamorgan and Gloucestershire.

Hamar, Hamer, Hammer, etc., are variants of Hanmer. The family of Hanmer, established in Hanmer, Flintshire, is said to be of Saxon origin, and to have given its name both to the family home and to the parish.

Lewis Dwnn's "Heraldic Visitations" (1585) gives the Hanmer pedigree. The name is said to be derived from *an* "on", and *mere* "the pool". Hamer is a popular surname in the counties of Montgomery and Radnor, and is pronounced, by the oldest inhabitants of the latter county, as Hammer. Owen Glyndwr, lord of Maelor Castle, Dinas Bran, married Morfudd, daughter to Sir David Hanmer, Lord Chief Justice of England.

Hargest, i.e., Hergest, is a seat near Kington in Herefordshire. It is well-known to Welsh scholars as the place which gave the name "Llyfr coch Hergest" to one of our ancient Welsh books. It is often called Herast, and the name appears to be Welsh in origin.

Hawarden. It is stated in the Cheshire Visitation of 1580, that Sir John Arderne lived at "Hawarden al's Harden", and that his son, also named Sir John Arderne, was the father of Hugh Ardern, whose family eventually adopted Arden as a surname. There were other families in England called Ardern or Arden; for instance, it is asserted in the Visitation of the County of Warwick, 1619, that the "house of the Ardens is meerly English of the auncient blood of the Saxons, and they were before the Conquest lordes of Warwick".

Kelly is claimed to be Welsh, as an Anglicised form of *Gelli*, "hazel trees", and as a proof of that claim the manor of Penkelly (otherwise *Pen y gelli*), in Breconshire, is quoted. Kelly, as a surname, is found everywhere and anywhere. A distinguished native of Glamorgan, an acquaintance of mine, declares that his surname (Kelly) is Welsh, and that his paternal grandfather bore the name of Gelly. A detailed account of Howel ap Jack Gelly, bailiff of the manor of Welsh Penkelly, taken in 1374, is to be found in the Record Office (Bundle 1156, No. 21, roll 5). One Phillip Gellye was a householder in Bristol in 1548. Sir Gelly Meurie (1556-1600), a son of Bishop

Meurig of Bangor, was knighted for his services during the siege of Cadiz. The pedigree of Kelley of Kelley, in the county of Devon, is given in the Visitation of Devon, 1620.

Kemmis comes from *Cemaes*, and had its origin, as a surname, in Pembrokeshire, where families of that name flourished and held honourable positions in the county and elsewhere. The family of Kemys-Tynte, formerly of Cefn Mably, Monmouthshire, comes from an ancient Kemeys family, and some of the descendants now live in the Marches. Henry Kemys, page of the Chamber, was appointed hayward of Abergavenny, in 1509, by King Henry VIII. The pedigree is given in the Visitation of Gloucester, 1623, of "Jevan ap Moris Kemeys", whose son, John Kemeys, lived in the reign of Henry VI.

Kerry is a parish in Montgomeryshire. The pedigree of Jenkin Kerry of Worthen, Salop, is given in the Visitation of Shropshire, 1623. Landor is presumably derived from Landore (*Glandwr*), near Swansea. Lanfear and Llanfer appear to come from Llanfair, i.e., St. Mary's Church, a common dedication in Wales and in the Marches. It may be a Cornish name as well as a Welsh name.

Laugharne is the English name for *Llacharn*, an old town in Carmarthenshire. A certain Maurice Lagharn was Beadle of Haverfordwest in 1381. Laugherne was a surname borne by one of the old families of Pembrokeshire. Capt. Laugharne by his will, dated 1858, was a benefactor to the poor of the town of Carmarthen, and among the benefactors to the parochial charities of Laugharne, in 1822 and 1850 respectively, were Theodosia Laugharne and William Laugharne, R.N., both natives of the parish, which is also called Laugharne.

Laugher and Lougher are distinctive Glamorgan surnames. Lochore, a variant of the surname Lougher, is

found at Swansea. There was an old family named Lougher, with many branches, near Llantwit Major, last century. Dafydd Benwyn, in a MS., in the Cardiff Library, dated 1550 to 1600, recorded the pedigree of "rhisiart lochwr", son of "Grono ap Jevan ap llaision ap rrys", of Gower. Mary Lougher, by her will in 1751, founded certain parochial charities at Pyle and Kenfigg in Glamorgan. *Llychar* is a Welsh adjective which means "gleaning", "flashing"; and Lougher is the name of a river, parish, borough and castle, called in Welsh *Lluchwyr*, near Swansea.

Lidard, Liddiard, Lyddiate, etc. Lyddiatt and its variants come from either *llwyd iarth*, the grey gate, or *llwyd garth*, the grey wooded hill. *Llwydiarth* is not an unusual place name in Wales, e.g., *Llwydiarth* in the parish of Llangedwyn, Montgomeryshire, mentioned in the Duke of Beaufort's Progress through Wales, in 1684. *Lydart* is a hamlet in Monmouthshire, and *Lydiard Tregoze* is a parish in Wiltshire. There is also a place name called *Lydiate* both in Cheshire and in Lancashire. The Visitation of the County of Warwick, 1619, refers to one George Lyddiat, who lived at Hailey, in the county of Stafford, in 1614.

*Llanwarne* is a parish in the deanery of Archenfield, about eight miles south of Hereford. The death of one William Lanwarn, in 1789, is recorded in the parish register of Garway, Monmouthshire. Thomas Llanwarne, a solicitor who died in 1905, was thrice Mayor of Hereford. This surname is said to be extant in the Golden Valley.

Lugg is the name of a river flowing through the counties of Radnor and Hereford. Lugg is the Anglicised form of the common Welsh river-name, *Llugwy*, the "bright translucent water".

Machin, Machen, Michen, probably came from Machen, the name of a parish in Monmouthshire, about eight miles west of Newport. It was a well-known Gloucestershire

name in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and pedigrees of families of this name figure in the Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1623, under the names Machen, Machin, and Machyn. A Welsh bard, named "Hughe Machin", composed a Welsh quatrain to "Mistress bankes", in 1607 (see "Poems of Sir John Salisbury"), published by the Early Text Society in 1914. Magor is the name of a parish in Monmouthshire, about seven miles east of Newport. Meacham, Meakin, Makin, etc., are said to be derived from Mechain, a district in Montgomeryshire, on the borders of Wales. This may well be the fact, but, so far, I have failed to discover any documentary record in support of this derivation.

Mahler, Maylor, etc., come from Maelor, a district near Oswestry, whence the late Sir John Rhys declared the surname of Sir Thomas Malory, the author of "Morte D'Arthur", was derived. Richard Maylor of Haverfordwest, received a preaching license, for his house, in April, 1672.

Malpas is the name of a parish in Monmouthshire, and of another parish in Cheshire, and the name is found elsewhere. It is said to be a contraction of the Latin *Malus passus*, or the Norman French *De mal passu*. It is found, as a surname, as early as 1445 at Bristol, according to "The Little Red Book of Bristol", Vol. II, 1900.

Maughan. St. Maughan is the Anglicised name of Llan fochan, Monmouthshire. The parish of Machen (above referred to), in the same county, is described as "Maughan", in a grant made to William Walwyn and others, in August, 1532. Maugham is probably a variant of Maughan.

Maysmor, from *macs mawr*, "the large field." The Maesmors of Maesmor, Montgomeryshire, was a well-known Montgomeryshire family, claiming descent from one of the fifteen Royal Tribes of North Wales. Maismore

is the name of a parish, through which the Severn flows, about two miles from Gloucester.

Middleton. There are a number of places thus called in the Marches and in Wales. The Middleton in Shropshire, near the border, whence Sir Thomas and Sir Hugh Myddleton of Chirk, obtained their name, was known in Welsh as *Canoldref*; hence the bardic name of Capt. William Myddleton, the poet, was Gwilym Ganoldref. He was a brother of Sir Thomas Myddleton, alderman of London, and of Sir Hugh Myddleton, the projector of the New River.

Montgomery. Baldwin de Montgomery settled at Clun about 1360, whence the name of the county both in English and in Welsh (*Tre faldwyn*). The original place name was in Normandy. Moss is the name of a village in Denbighshire, four miles from Wrexham.

Mostyn is in the parish of Whitford, about eight miles north-west of Holywell. Mostyn is also one of our early surnames in Wales. It is said that "Thomas ap Richard ap Howel ap Ieuan Fychan", etc., who carried a long pedigree in his legal name, on the advice of Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Lord President of Wales, adopted the local surname of Mostyn from his residence. The good bishop, being wearied with the number of *aps* he was in daily contact with, asked Thomas of Mostyn why he could not content himself "with one name of Mostyn—like a Christian", with the result, that he assumed the name of his house, as his surname. A large number of the gentry of North Wales followed his example, but, alas! almost all such family names, derived from territorial or place names, soon fell into disuse or became extinct. There are not half a dozen such names now left in North Wales. A license was granted to John, Earl of Warwick, in July, 1549, to grant certain lands to "Peter Moston *alias* Powell of Llanhassaph, co. Flint, gentleman", an

early instance of the surname. William Mostyn was among the patriotic and distinguished persons, to whom Queen Elizabeth issued a Commission, on the 23rd October, 1568, to hold the Eisteddfod at Caerwys.

Nash, Newport, Newton, Norton and Overton, are common English place names in Wales and the Marches, and except for their geographical positions, they could not be described as Welsh. Nash and Newton were the surnames of two old Pembrokeshire families.

Neath is a town in Glamorgan. A certain John de Neth is mentioned in the Black Book of St. David's.

Penrice is a castle (*Pen rhys*) in Gower, Glamorgan. The names of Robert Penrice, rector of Dodderhill, Worcester, in 1683, and of John Penris of Crowle, are given in the Visitation of the County of Worcester for that year. The old Worcestershire family of Penrice resided in the parish of Crowle. Dr. Henry Penrice was appointed Judge of the Admiralty Court in 1715.

Penrose is a place name in Monmouthshire, which is also called Penrhos, i.e., Penrhos Fwrdios, near Caerleon. It is also a place name in Cornwall and in several counties in Wales, as well as on the Welsh border of Herefordshire, near Kington. The fact that it occurs only, as a surname, in Somerset, in List No. 7, rather suggests a Cornish origin, but having regard to the frequency of this place name in Wales and Monmouthshire, it may also be a Welsh surname. It is tentatively included in this class (No. 3). Canon Bardsley in his "Dictionary of Surnames" derived the surname from the Penrose of Monmouthshire.

Powys was the name of an ancient province in North Wales, which comprised a larger area than the county of Montgomery, to which the name is now applied. It is an old surname in the Border Counties. William Powis was a churchwarden of the parish of Culmington, Shropshire,



in 1560. The names Powys and Pohys appear in the list of voters, at a Montgomeryshire election, in 1774, and Littleton Powys (1648-1732) was a Judge of the High Court.

Powsland and Powlesland probably refer to the land or province of Powys, and not to the land of Howell or Powell.

Ross, Rouse, Rowse, etc., come from *rhos*, a long stretch of flat land. The place name Ross in the counties of Monmouth and Pembroke, as well as Rhoose in Glamorgan, are Anglicised versions of Rhos. John Rosse was the prior of "Pylton" (Gower) in 1534. A Norman family De Ros, established in Kent in 1130, came from Ros, now Rots, near Caen.

Rosevear, Rosvere, etc., suggest a derivation *Rhos fair* or *Rhos vair*. It is probable that such a place name is to be found in the Marches or bordering parishes in Wales. The ancient name of Newborough, in Anglesey, was Rhos fair. It may be a Cornish name.

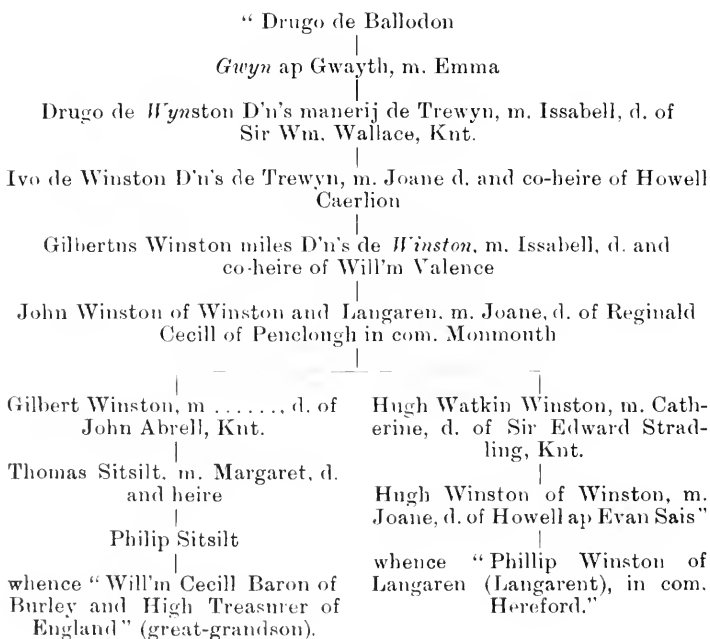
Rumney is the name of a river and parish in Monmouthshire. The pedigree of William Rumney of Suckley, is given in the Visitation of Worcester in 1682, and the surname appears among the voters at an election in the Monmouth Boroughs in 1715.

Severn existed as a surname in 1660, when, according to the above mentioned Visitation of Worcester, John Severn lived at Shrawley. Shotton is a village near Conna's Quay, Flintshire. The name of a "John Shotton of Salop", is given in the Heraldic Visitation of Shropshire, 1623. The surnames Skerritt, Skerrett, etc., are derived from the name of a fine mountain, Skirrid Fawr, near Abergavenny.

Stanton, another thoroughly English name, is a place name found in Monmouthshire and in the Border counties. Stintern comes from Tintern, near Chepstow. The

surname may be intended to represent the prefix St. (abbreviation of saint), incorporated with the name of the famous abbey, which, moreover, was dedicated to St. Tewdrig. Tintern, according to the late Chancellor John Fisher, is a corruption of the Welsh *Dindyrn*. Sully is a parish in Glamorgan near Cardiff.

Trawin, Trewin, Winstone, Winson are surnames of great interest. Winstone is the English translation of Trewin, not an uncommon place name in Wales and the Marches. Trewin means the house or abode (*villa*) of a person called Wyn or Win (see below), and is to be differentiated from Trewen, the white house or abode. Villa is the Latin equivalent to "ton", meaning originally a habitation, rather than a village or town. The following pedigree, taken from the Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1623, is illuminating :—



The italics are mine. Winstone in Gloucestershire is six miles north-west of Cirencester. A grant of a free warren in "Wynston", co. Gloucester, was given to Hugh le Despenser in August, 1311. "Robert Wynston of Trewayn, Marches of Wales", received a royal pardon in January, 1527. There was a James Winstone, of Blackmore, among the gentry of Hereford in the reign of Charles I.

Tremelling presumably comes from Tre melyn, wherever that place may be. The surname may be either Welsh or Cornish. Henry Melling was Mayor of Hereford in 1638.

Trerice is a Worcestershire surname. It is stated in the Visitation of Worcester, that a member of the Wheeler family, was raised to the peerage in 1664, as Baron Arundell of Trerice.

Trevaldwyn, the Welsh name for Montgomery (Baldwin's town), is a modern surname. The Rev. B. W. J. Trevaldwyn (formerly the Rev. B. W. Jones), ordained in 1835, was present at a public enquiry, held at Kerry in 1891, into the charities of the parish. He assumed his new surname after becoming rector of St. Martin's, Looe, Cornwall.

Trevan is a place name found in Caernarvonshire and probably in other parts of Wales, as well as in the Marches. Trevethan is a variant of Trevethin, a parish near Pontypool, Monmouthshire, from which Lord Trevethin, a former Lord Chief Justice of England, took his name when raised to the peerage. He was a Judge of the High Court for many years, and was then known as Mr. Justice A. T. Lawrence.

Trevor probably comes from Tre vawr or Trevor, a township on the northern side of the Dee, near Llangollen. It is also one of our earliest place names, used both as a

personal name and surname (see Class 1), and our oldest Welsh surname with the prefix "Tre".

Trewent and Went are derived from the ancient province of Gwent. The old Herefordshire surnames of Wentland or Wenland (extant in Wareham in 1764), prove this derivation. Richard Gwent "of the Arches" was an "official of Canterbury" in 1533-34; and in May, 1539. Geo. Owen, physician, was granted a license to enfeoff "Ric. Gwent, clk., Th. Gwent", and others, of the manor of Erdyngton, Oxford. A license was given to "Thomas Gwent *alias* Thomas ap Jenkyn", to grant certain lands in "Llantrisham in the marches of Wales" (Llantrisant), to James Gunter in February, 1547.

Van (and Ban) mean a height, e.g., the Welsh for the Breconshire Beacons, is Bannau Brycheiniog. Van is a well-known ancient seat of the Lewis family, within a mile of Caerphilly, Glamorgan. John Vanne is a name mentioned in a petition, dated 14th June, 1647, addressed to Major-General Laughorn, and signed by Vanne and others, at Cowbridge. Charles Van was M.P. for Brecon in 1774.

Walwyn's Castle, in Pembrokeshire, is probably the source whence this old surname, in that county, is derived. It is known, in Welsh, as the castle of Gwalchmai, namely, the Sir Gawain (Walganus, Walweyn and Gauvain) of Romance. He was a brother to Sir Galahad and Modred, and a nephew to King Arthur, and was his favourite Knight. Walwyn is an old and familiar surname in the Border Counties. Reference is made in the Visitation of Worcester, 1569, to the Walwins of Langford, in the county of Hereford, who were descendants of Sir Richard Walwin, a sheriff of that county early in the fourteenth

century; and in a later Visitation, 1682, the Walwyns of Wick and of Little Malvern are mentioned. William Walwein was sheriff of Hereford in 1399, and Richard Walwayn in 1327. Wallwyne is a surname which occurs in the Book of Baglan (1600-1607), and John Walwyn of "Swynden", is mentioned in the Visitation of Gloucester, 1623. There were five "esquires", from the county of Hereford, included in a return of the principal inhabitants made in 1411, named Walwayn, and one "gentleman" bearing that name. Mr. Ernest Weekly in his "Surnames" (1916) derives the surname from the Saxon, *weald*, "rule", as in "Wealdine, now Walwin, Wallen, etc."; but the Walwyns of Pembrokeshire, in all probability, took their name from the place-name.

Wenlock. It is stated in an Introduction to the Survey of English Place Names, edited by Messrs. A. Mawer and F. M. Stanton (1924), Part I., p. 29, that the derivation of Wenlock is *gwyn*, "white", and *lloc*, "monastery". William Wenlock founded a charity at Holywell, Flintshire in 1691, and Katherine Wenlock was a benefactress, in 1708, to the parochial charities of Mold, in the same county.

Wigmore is a deanery and town with a ruined castle, 8½ miles north-west of Leominster. The name is derived from *wig*, "a plantation", and *mawr*, "great", hence the meaning is the "great wood" or plantation. Thomas Wigmore is mentioned in a deed, dated 20th May, 1579. There was one "esquire" named Richard Wigmore, in the return of 1411, of the principal inhabitants of the county of Hereford. Upton Court was owned by a family of this name until it was sequestrated in 1646. Wale is probably a variant of Wales, a Devonshire surname.

#### 4. SURNAMES FORMED BY THE COMBINATION OF *ab* AND *ap* WITH BAPTISMAL NAMES.

##### List No. 4.

	Ap Ivor.	From—	
	Apjohn.	Ab Hugh.	Bee, Bew, Bewes, Budge, Buse, Bwye, Bye.
From—	Ap Thomas.		
Ab Adda.	Bathe, Batho, Bathen, Bather.	Ab „	Pee, Peugh, Pow, Powe, Pudge, Pugh, Pughe, Pye.
„ Adam.	Badham, Battams.	Ap Hugsley.	Pugsley.
„ Edmund.	Bament, Beaman, Bea- mand, Beamond, Be- mand.	Ab Humphrey.	Bromphray, Buffrey.
		Ap „	Pomphrey, Pumphrey.
„ Edward.	Beddard, Bedward.	Ab Hwfa.	Boffen, Boffey, Boughey, Bovey, Bowhay.
„ Ellis.	Bayles, Baylies, Baylis, Bayliss, Bellis, Belliss, Bellyse, Belsh, Blease, Bliss.	Ap Hwfa.	Pavey, Povah, Povay, Pover.
Ap „	Pallis, Bollis.	Ab Idwal.	Bidwell, Bydawell.
Ab Evan.	Beavan, Beavens, Bea- ven, Beavins, Bevan, Beven, Bevin, Bevins, Biven, Beavis, Bevis.	Ap „	Pedwell.
		Ab Isaac.	Bissex.
		Ab Ithel.	Bithel, Bithell, Bythell, Bedell, Bessell, Biddle, Bissell.
Ab Eynon.	Bain, Baine, Baines, Banham, Baynes, Baynham, Beines, Benham, Beniams, Benman, Bennion, Bennions, Binnion, Binyon, Bunn, Bun- ning, Bunnings, Bun- yan.	Ap „	Pessell.
		Ab Iolyn.	Beioley, Boyling, Byolin.
		Ab Ivor.	Beaver, Beavor.
		Ap „	Peever.
		Ab Lloyd (or Llwyd).	Blood, Bloyd, Bloye, Blud.
		Ab Llywarch.	Bloor, Bloore, Blow, Blower.
		Ab Oliver.	Boliver.
Ab Harry.	Barry, Berry.	Ab Owen.	Bawn, Bone, Boon, Boone, Bowan, Bowen, Bowin, Bown, Bowne, Bownes, Bowns, Boyns
Ap „	Parris, Parry, Perry, Sperry.		
Ab Henry.	Bendry, Bendy.	Ap „	Powing.
Ap „	Pendrey.	Ap Randel.	Prandle.
Ab Heylin.	Ballin.	Ab Rhys (or Rees).	Bees, Beese, Breese, Breeze, Brice, Bryce.
Ap „	Pailin, Palin, Paling, Pelling, Pilling.	Ap „	Preece, Price, ? Priest, Prizse, Pryce, Prys.
Ab Holland.	Boland, Bolland.		
Ab Howel.	Bool, Bowell, Bowells, Bowl, Bowle, Bowles, Bowley.	Ab Rothero.	Brotheridge.
		Ap „	Prothero, Protheroe, Protherough.
Ap Howel.	Pole, Pool, Poole, Pooley, Povall, Powell, Powle, Powles.	Ap Rhydderch.	Prytherch.
		Ab Rhun.	Breen.

From—		From—	
Ap Rhun.	Preen, Prin, Prinn, Pring, Pryn, Pryne.	Ap Robin.	Probin, Probyn.
Ap Richard.	Pickett, Prichard, Prichett, Prickard, Prickett, Pritchard, Pritchards, Pritchett.	Ap Roger.	Podgur.
Ap Robert.	Popert, Probert, Pro- betts, Probit, Propert.	Ab Rosser.	Browse.
Ab Robin.	Broben.	Ap „	Prosser, Prouse, Prowse.
		Ab Ynyr.	Bonner, Bonnor, Boyner, Bunner, Bunney, Byner.
		Ap „	Poiner, Poyner.

Just as a name with the prefix “ Mac ” generally indicates a Scottish origin, and the prefix “ O ’ ” with a name, invariably distinguishes an Irish surname, while “ Tre, Pol, and Pen ” mark the Cornish men, so do the prefixes “ Ab ” and “ Ap ” (abbreviated to B and P), when blended with a plain Christian name, most assuredly, proclaim the surname to be Welsh. There is, it is true, when either B or P precedes an unfamiliar English name, the difficulty of knowing whether the initial letter really represents “ ab ” or “ ap ” respectively : but no such difficulty is present when either prefix precedes, or is attached to, a personal name, such as Ap Ivor, Ap Thomas or Apjohn ; or when either letter is blended with a Welsh baptismal name, such as Evan, or with a familiar English name, such as Robert. Special knowledge is required to recognise any connection with Wales, in such surnames as Bather, Beever, Palin, Pickett, etc.

The late Mr. A. N. Palmer, of Wrexham, contributed a valuable article on “ Modern Welsh Surnames ” to a monthly magazine called “ The Antiquary,” in April, 1887. He then stated, with regard to surnames formed by prefixing “ ab ” and “ ap ” to a baptismal name, that “ the word *ap* (before H and R) or *ab* (before vowels) is blended with a personal name following it ”. That statement will hardly bear examination when Lists No. 4 and 8 are carefully considered. Either “ ab ” or “ ap ” may precede both H and R, as well as each of the Welsh vowels, i.e., o and y,

when "blended with a personal name following it". Ab or B, as a rule, only blends with a personal name commencing with the vowel, "a". The surname Palliver (a corruption of ap Oliver) is an exception to that rule, if it be an exception, inasmuch as the "a" following the "P" in that name, is an interloper. I cannot find a surname in which either "ab" or "ap" has been blended with either the other vowels, "u" or "w". The only baptismal names commencing with R, which are not prefixed with ab or B, are Richard and Robert.

It is a matter for comment that this class of surnames has only thrived in the Border Counties, and in those parts of Wales, which are on the Border, or under English influence. The rule as to the son taking the father's baptismal name as his surname, seems to have been so strongly followed in Welsh-speaking Wales, when surnames became permanent, that even if the father was personally known by the name of William Robert, or by such a name as William Moel, his son if baptised John, would be called Shôn William or John Williams. It was English influence or the force of the English custom of permanency in surnames, which led to the retention of these "ab" and "ap" surnames (as well as the surnames in Classes 2 and 3), in the particular generation, when family names became stabilised, which varied, as to time, in different parts of Wales. All the surnames of this class, found to-day in Wales, have originated in such parts of South Wales as were under English influence, or in those parts of the counties of Flint, Denbigh and Montgomery bordering on England. Such surnames as Parry, Pritchard, and Pugh, found throughout North Wales, are borne by families whose founders migrated from other parts of Wales, where the surnames had already become permanent; or when the first person to bear the permanent surname, being either a member of the professional class, or



a person whose trade or business led him frequently to travel to districts in which permanent surnames had become firmly established, took on the then passing or temporary prefixed "ab" or "ap" surname, as his own.

The first names in List No. 4 are probably of modern origin, except Apjohn, of which Upjohn, an extant surname, found elsewhere in England, is a corruption.

Bathe, Batho, Bathen, and Bather are variants of Batha, i.e., "ap Atha", similarly pronounced as the Welsh *Adda*, that is, with a soft th. Batho is a Shropshire surname, which is also found in Cheshire. A person named Batho is mentioned in the parish registers of Malpas, in that county, in 1565. John Bathowe, of Haverfordwest, was in receipt of a State pension in 1537. Battams is a corruption of Badam or Badham, i.e., "ap Adam". The name of Walter Badham, "a page of the Chamber", occurs as early as 1518, as a receiver of "the customs of the town of Knygton, Marches of Wales". His name is spelt Badam in a State document of the year 1519. The surname Abadam was in existence in Carmarthenshire in 1835.

Bament, Bemand, Beaumond, etc. These surnames are prevalent, in one form or another, in each of the border counties, and are mainly, perhaps entirely, derived from "ab Edmund", or *ab Emwnd* in colloquial Welsh, the spelling of the variants being in accord with what was conceived to be the pronunciation of *Bemwnd*. The elimination of the final letter d in this case is, what may be called, "common form". The best instance in Welsh names of the shedding of the final letter, is that of *Morcant*, the modern Morgan. Another derivation of the surname is from the Norman-French *Beaumont*, which also happens to be "Bemwnd" in Welsh, e.g. "*a hwnnw bioedd Iarll a elwit henri bemwnd*", which means that "he who owned Iarll (Earlsland) was called Henry

Beaumont." This quotation occurs in *The Bruts* from *The Red Book of Hergest*, and comes after a reference to Swansea Castle. The surname Beamond may also be traceable to Beaumont.

Beddard and Bedward. Bedward was a surname in Breconshire and Radnorshire in the 18th century. John Bedward bequeathed £40 to the poor of New Radnor in 1688. The death of Mary Bedward is recorded in the register of the parish of Llanavan Fawr, Breconshire, in 1723; and Bedward is a surname recorded in the parish register of Pilleth, Radnorshire, in 1724.

Baylis, Bellis, Belsh, Bliss, Bollis, Pallis, etc. Canon Bardsley found Baylis as a "surname hard to classify, but," he added, "its meaning seems obvious, viz., 'the son of the Bailey', i.e., bailiff". He explained that "the final *s* is the patronymic, as in Williams, Richards, . . . Taylorson, Smithson". Weekly, in "*Surnames*" (1916), having derived a surname Bayles from "bail-house," adds that "the very common Bayliss must also sometimes belong here"; a derivation which the Baylisses of the Marches would not commend. Without either doubt or surmise, all these variants, common to the border counties, come from "ab Ellis", including Blease and Bliss, each of which has probably an additional origin. Ballis and Bollis are instances of vowel substitution in imitation of Bellis. Ballis appears now to be extinct. William Ballis lived at Garn Dolbenmaen, Caernarvonshire, at the end of the 18th century. Pallis is a mutated form of the original surname. Bayliss appears to have been, and still is, the more popular form of the name in the border counties; while Bellis has its habitat in Wales in Flintshire. Bardsley derives Bliss from a nickname, "of blithe disposition", and gives the name of one John Blisse, living in the county of Bucks in 1273, i.e., ages before the days of these "ab" and "ap" surnames. The

same author suggests that Blease comes from St. Blaze. I regard both Blease and Bliss as contractions of ab Ellis ; and just as the word "able" is a contraction of *abel*, *abyl*, *abill*, etc., according to Dr. Murray's Oxford dictionary ; so are these surnames contractions of ab Ellis ; in other words, the vowel e between b and l in both "ab Ellis" and "abel" has been eliminated. The fact that Blease and Bliss exist side by side with Baylis and Bellis, is a strong inference that they come from a common source, whence also comes the corrupted form Belsh.

Beavan, Bevan, Beavis, etc. There is no difficulty over the derivation of these surnames from "ab Evan", except that Beavis and Bevis are modifications of Beavins and Bevins respectively, where in each case the letter n has been dropped, as in other surnames ending in "ins", e.g., Hopkiss for Hopkins ; Perkiss for Perkins, etc. The name of Theophilus Bevans occurs in the Book of St. David's (1326). Francis Bevan was at All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1572, and Dan. Bevan at Clare College, Cambridge in 1668. John Bevis, M.D., a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Science at Berlin, was an Honorary Member of the Cymmrodorion Society in 1755. There is an entry, perhaps illustrating unconscious repetition, in the parish register of Llanarmon, South Caernarvonshire, to the effect that "Rich. John ap Bevan, fuller, was buried 3rd Decr., 1750", just as a somewhat similar entry in the parish register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, records the burial in 1563 of "Richardus Ap' Beva". John Bevand was the name of a freeman of Chester in 1747.

Baine, Baynes, Baynham, Beines, Beynon, Binnion, Bunyan, etc. Baines, Beines, etc., represent "ab" with the Anglicised form Haines, Haynes, Heines, etc., of "ab Einion". The old Welsh name for Einon or Eynon was *Enniaun* which, in the course of time, assumed the forms

Einiawn, Einion, Enion, as well as Eignion, and its modern equivalent Eynon. The name prefixed with ab, has given us a very large number of surnames, in which the vowels are changed and interchanged at pleasure. Baynham is an old Gloucestershire and Herefordshire surname. The son of one Robert ap Eignon was Robert Baynham, of "Chorewall", in the Forest of Dean, who was henceforward known by that family name. Thomas Baynham, of "Clourwall", according to the Visitation of Gloucester (1623), was married in 1437, hence this is an early instance of the name. Another even earlier instance of Baynham as a surname, is given in Duncumb's "History of Herefordshire", vol. II., p. 327. The patron of the living of Ashton Ingham, in 1421, was named Christopher Baynham. Thomas Baynam was the High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1476. "Laurence Bynion or Benyon or Benion or Bygnion", of the county of Bucks, was at the University of Oxford, in 1581. Robert Bunyon and Margaret Baynes (both possessing surnames of the same origin), applied for a marriage license, in London, in 1640. The surname appears as Bennyon (1573), Bennion (1617), and Banyan (1672), in the registers of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The record of an election of a master at the Bromyard Grammar School, in 1661, is signed by John Beynham and Anthony Baynham. The death of "widow Binion" is recorded in the parish register of Shocklach, Cheshire, in 1638. The surnames Baynham and Benam are found in the Book of Baglan (1600-1607). The names of two monks at Vale Royal, Cheshire, in 1539, are given as "John Bunyon" and "Ric. Benyon". The Latinized form of Einion is generally Anianus, hence presumably the forms Banyan, Banyon, and probably Bunyan and Bunyon. Canon Bardsley changed his mind over the origin of the well-known surname Bunyan, which, at first, he believed came from *bon jean*, "good John", but sub-

sequently he held that the surname came from "ab Eynon". There may be other sources whence the surnames Bunning and Bunnings originate, but it is highly probable that they have also been evolved from the same source. Pinion is one of the variants given by Bardsley, Weekly, and the other writers on surnames. I have failed to find this particular form, as an existing surname, either in Wales or in the Marches. Other existing variants, in South Wales, are Baynam, Baynon, Benyon, Beynom, Beyon, Binyon, and Bynom.

Barry, Parry, Perry, etc. The surname Barry is generally derived from Barry Island, near Cardiff, where Gerald du Barri (Geraldus Cambrensis) is said to have obtained his name; and Berry may also have come from a source other than "ab Harry", or "ab Harri"; but having regard to the fact that Barry, Parry, and Perry are found in every border county of Wales, and that Berry also flourishes in the Marches, the deduction is almost irresistible that Harry is their parent.

Bendry, Bendy, and Pendry. Hendry and Hendy are common variants for Henry as a surname in the border counties, hence Bendry and Pendry, but Penry seems to be now extinct in the Marches. It is an existing surname in a number of districts in South Wales. Bendy is "ab Hendy" (for Hendry). Hendy suggests *hendy*, "old house", a Welsh place name, but that is a suggestion which cannot be entertained. It is, undoubtedly, the corrupt name Hendry, with the "r" discarded. One Thos. ap Phillip Penry, was a witness in May, 1534, at "Beadeley", in a coining case against one Harry ap Jenkyn. The name of John Pendree, of Knighton, appears in the parish register of Old Radnor, in 1736.

Palin and its variants have their home in Cheshire, where Heylin frequently occurs as a surname. Pelling and Pilling are developments, which naturally arise in an

English community, from such a name as Palin. Ballin and Pailin or Palin illustrate the blending of either the prefix B (for "ab") or P (for "ap") with a name commencing with H, i.e., Heylin. Boland is also a Cheshire surname.

Bowell, Bowells, Bowles, etc. Powell, Powles, etc. Reference has been made to these combinations of "ab" and "ap", which, being found on the borders of Wales, are all, presumably, of Welsh origin. Bardsley points out that every Powell is not necessarily always of Welsh extraction, and he might have cited, for instance, such a name as "Henry atte Poyl" (pool) or "John atte Poyle", extant at "Guldeford", Surrey, in 1428, in support of his statement. The surname Powell, in this form, appears to date from the first half of the sixteenth century. One "David Appowell", gave £50 to the Mercers Company in 1508. Among the list of prisoners in the Tower of London, in 1537, is the name of a "Dr. Powell". The will of Harrye Puyll of Payngton, Devon, was proved in 1558. Reference has been made to "Peter Mostyn, *alias* Powell" (see Class 3, under Mostyn), which seems to convey a suggestion that the new fashion of taking a local name as a surname was not altogether favoured, hence the "alias", to indicate that the father's name was Howell, or that Powell had been, hitherto, the family name. The names "Jevan ap Bedo ap powell" and "Rice ap Bido ap powell ap philippe", are given in the Ministers' accounts for Radnorshire, in 1542. The "ap powell" is rather unusual, and may be the result of carelessness or ignorance. A similar entry relating to a son of "Robert ap Howell (ap Powell)" is contained in the parish register of St. James, Clerkenwell, London. James Gryffith Appowell was a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1532, and one Gryffyth Apowell was sexton of Wells cathedral in 1558. Early instances could be given of a number of these

variants, connecting them directly or indirectly with their origin, "ab" or "ap Howell". Povall, for instance, has this origin. Apovell, is a name given in the parish register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in the year 1551. Poole appears to be an early version of ab Howel. Owen Poole sat as a juror at Harlech in 1650. Bowle and Bowles are Anglicised equivalents of such early Anglo-Welsh forms of *ab Hywel* or *Pywel* as *Bwl*, *Bol* and *y Bola*, which occur in the Merioneth Inquisitions at Harlech, where the names "Jeuau Vychan ap Jeuau Bwl" (1540) and "Jeuau ap y Bola" (1541)—possibly the same person—are given: and the name "Gutt. Bul ap Meredith ap Rys" (1541), at another Inquisition at Llangurig. Poll appears to have been a variant, now obsolete, for Powel. A pedigree is given in the Gloucester Visitation (1623), of Walter Williams of Bristol, whose ancestors were all Polls, e.g., one "Howell ap Jevan poll" had a son called "John ap Howell poll" and his son was named "William ap poll", etc. John ap Holl Vychan was granted a teneement in Penllyn, Merioneth, in July, 1540.

Pugh, Powe, Pudge, Pye, etc. Bee, Bew, Bewes, Budge, etc. Pugh is a contraction of "ap Hugh", which, as Mark A. Lower observes in his "Patronymica Britannica" (1860), "has furnished a host of derivatives, some of which would hardly be supposed to be of such origin", a statement which is strikingly true, with regard to this surname Pugh. Pudge and Budge are curious variants, probably arising from a misconception with regard to the correct pronunciation of the terminal letters, "gh". The forms Pow and Powe, as well as Bew, Bewes and Buse, are obvious derivatives of Pugh. Charnock in his "Ludus Patronymicus" (1868), as well as other writers on surnames, derive "Pie, Py and Pye" from this source. T. M. Blagg in Vol. XIX of the "Nottingham Sette of Odde Volumes" (1900) agrees that "ap

Hugh gives us Pugh, also Pye, 'u' in Welsh having sometimes the sound of 'y'." That is true, but when "u" and "y" are similar, the sound is not that of "ie" as in the word "pie" or Pye. "Hu Gadarn" may or may not have been a real, rather than a mythical, hero; at any rate, his name "Hu" is phonetically pronounced. It is difficult to affirm that Welshmen used this pronunciation two or three centuries ago or earlier. Hugh is, now-a-days, pronounced in the same way in Welsh as it is in English. Bardsley derives Pye from "a nickname, the pie, i.e., magpie", but without giving any further explanation or proof. The will of one Robert Bye of Wellington, Salop, was proved between 1635 and 1639; and the name Jenkin Pye, appears in the Book of Baglan (1600-1607). Sir Walter Pye of The Mynde, in the county of Hereford, was sheriff in 1625. A curious spread-out spelling of "Penelope" is given in the Visitation of Cheshire (1613), in a reference to the wife of Sir Cecill Trafford, where her name is described as "Pene la Pye". The scribe may have been overborne with, or by, the Pye family. Bye, Bwyte, and Boye are mutations of Pye, while Bee and Pee are, like some other variants, strange products arising from confusion with regard to the pronunciation of Hugh or Pugh. Hugh is said to be derived from a Teutonic word *hugur*, "thought", as well as from a Celtic form *Hu*. The Welsh pronunciation of Hu, if in vogue, in the border counties when surnames became permanent, would perhaps to English folk sound similar to *hee*; but it is difficult to believe that the surname Bee, came into being, through such a Welsh pronunciation of *ab Hu*. The correct pronunciation of Hugh does not appear to have varied. There is a reference in the Visitation of Shropshire (1623) to one "Richard ap Hugh, vulgo Pewe". An instance of the misconception of the pronunciation (and perhaps of the spelling) of Pugh, appears in the parish



account book of Llanfihangel y Traethau, Merioneth : where Edward Pugh of “ Drannogau ”, a churchwarden in 1729, is described as Edward “ Priw ”, i.e., with the “ pewe ” sound. Pugh, as a surname, may have originated in Herefordshire, for the names of John Pu and Walter Puy, are included in a list of the principal inhabitants of the county, in 1411, among “ the gentlemen ” therein classified. To return to the variant Pye. It is also a Cornish name (perhaps from the same Celtic source as Hu), for it is recorded in the Visitation of Cornwall (1620), that Anthony Pye of “ Bodinok-veor ”, a grandson of Jo. Pye of Nansarth, Cornwall, was then living in that county.

Pugsly is probably ap Hugsly, otherwise Huxley. It exists in Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire, counties where surnames formed with “ ab ” and “ ap ”, prefixed to baptismal names, abound. Puxley is a surname in Carmarthenshire. Bardsley derives the surname Huxley, from a township, of that name, in the parish of Waverton, Cheshire. Bromfrey, Buffrey, Pomfrey and Pumphrey. Apart from the variants of ab Humphrey included in Lists Nos. 4 and 8, there are others to be found in England and Wales, e.g., Pomphery at Cardiff and Baumphrey in London. William Pomfrey was the incumbent of Trinity Chantry, in connection with Flaxley Abbey, Gloucestershire, in 1553.

Povah and its many variants, are found chiefly in the neighbouring counties of Cheshire and Shropshire, and it would seem that its first home was in the parish of Shocklach, whence it permeated the surrounding districts, viz., Malpas, Whitchurch, Ellesmere, etc. The simplex Hwfa, pronounced “ Whoova ”, appears to have puzzled English folk, for we can draw such a conclusion from the variants of Povah. Some pronounced the Welsh letter f correctly, represented by the English v, whence Povah, Povey and

Bovey; while others pronounced the *f* in *Hwfa* or “*ab Hwfa*” hard, as if it were the English *f*, hence *Boffey* and *Boughy*. The pedigree of *Povey* of *Shocklach*, given in the Visitation of *Chester*, 1613, is as follows:—

David Povey als Ap Hova

|  
John some of David purchased lands in Cudington (1453-4)

|  
Thomas Povey was of Shokleche (1500).

*Bovey* has also another derivation. The descendants of *William* and *James Boeve*, whose father was brought from *Flanders* to *England* circ. 1670, to escape from persecution, are called *Bovey* or *Boeve*. Their names figure in the registers of the Dutch Church of *Austin Friars*, *London*. It is highly probable that all the *Cheshire Boveys* derive their surname from “*ab Hwfa*” or “*ab Hova*”. *Boffen* appears to be a variant of *Boffey*, and is not identical with *Buffin*, the descriptive name *Vychan* in another guise, found in the county of *Gloucester*, far away from *Cheshire*. *Pova* was a popular name, in the parish of *Shocklach*, for half a century after 1540.

*Bidwell*, *Bydawell*, and *Pedwell* appear to be variants of *Bidwal*, “*ab Idwal*”, rather than derivatives of “*Ab Ithel*”. *Bydawell* is found at *Stansford Bridge*, in *Herefordshire*, and *Pedwell* at *Downend*, near *Bristol*, where a good number of surnames of this “*ab*” and “*ap*” class are found. *Bissex*, a *Monmouthshire* surname, is probably a contraction of “*ab Isaac*”, and can be compared with the *Manx* family name *Kissack*, for *Mac Isaac*.

The variants of *Bithell*, “*ab Ithel*”, form an interesting group. *Ithel*, according to *Camden* in his “*Remains concerning Britain*”, published in 1674, is a *Welsh* adaptation of the *Latin Euthalius*, derived from the *Greek*, ἐϋ Θαλγς, “*very flourishing*”. It cannot be said that *Ithel* has ever been a great name in *Wales*. It has not obtained the same popularity as some other ancient *Welsh* personal

names. The surnames Ithel, Bithel or Bithell do not exist in Wales, as far as I know, except in the rare forms Ethell or Ethall, and Bethel or Bethell. Bithell and its variants, had their origin in the Marches of Wales, where they are widely spread, but it can hardly be said that they are "flourishing". Bessell, Bissell and Pessell, are probably Anglicised country-side versions of Bethell or Bithel. Weekly derives Bissell from the French *bis*, "dingy", an improbable derivation when applied to the surname of Bissell and its variants, found in the Marches. John Bissell, a native of Herefordshire, was Quartermaster General, in General Garth's Regiment of Dragoons, in 1727. Biddle, found in Gloucestershire, probably comes from "ab Ithel", rather than from the Anglo-Saxon *bydel*, "the beadle". Weekly, in "Surnames" (1916), derives Biddle and Bittle (which I cannot find in the counties comprised in Lists Nos. 5 to 8) from ab Ithel, and he adds that the name or surname Ithel is "found in Wiltshire as *Iddols*". Abithell is an obsolete surname. Dr. Nicholas Abithel graduated at Cambridge, in 1552, and was a professor at the English college at Douay, where he died in 1586.

Boyling and Byolin come from ab Iolyn, and possibly Beioley, a surname found at Kidderminster. The marriage of John Upyollyn is recorded in the register of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in July, 1571. Beioley may come from Beoley, the name of a parish in East Worcestershire, two miles from Redditch. Beavor and its variants are derived from "ab Ivor". Peever may also be derived from a local name, Peover, near Knutsford, Cheshire. Peever, however, appears to be an obsolete surname in that county. The Visitation of Cheshire, 1580, contains the name of one John Peever of Middlewich.

Blood, Bloyd, Bloye and Blud, are from "ab Lloyd". Flud, an obsolete surname, was similarly derived. David

Flud was a vicar-choral of Wells cathedral, in 1629. Blower, Bloore and Blow stand for "ab Llowarch". Boliver, a Shropshire name, is "ab Oliver", and Palliver, a surname at Swansea, appears to have the same origin.

Bowen is a familiar surname in the southern counties of Wales and in the Marches. It is also an old family name in Pembrokeshire. Reference is made in a Welsh pedigree of the first half of the seventeenth century, given in Mostyn MS. 212B, to the "Bowen clan" in that county, viz., *Kyff Kenedl y bowens a gwyr y tywynn*, "the pedigree of the clan of Bowens and the men of Tywyn". The variants of Bowen, in Lists Nos. 4 and 8, present no difficulty, when it is considered how pronunciation resulted in the substitution, change or omission of vowels. The name of Davy Bowyn of "Shrowysbere", is given in the State Papers (Domestic) in September, 1538. He is also described as "a Bowen". The death of a David Bown, aged 72, in 1780, is recorded in the parish register of Horsley, Herefordshire; and the name of one Arthur Boon, of Lydney, is given in 1682, in the register of that parish. Powing is a form of the name peculiar to Herefordshire. The terminal s in Bowns and Boyns, mark English influence. Prandle is a contraction of ap Randel.

Bees, Breese, Bryce, etc. Price, Prys, etc. These come from "ap Rhys" or "ab Rees". Breese and Breeze flourish, as surnames in Wales, in the county of Montgomery. The name is spelt Brees, in the list of voters, at the 1774 Parliamentary election, for that county. The "r" has dropped out in Bees. The names of Robert Prys of "Ledebury" is given in the Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397; and Richard Brys was one of the men at arms, at Agincourt, in 1415. Other men at arms are described as "Richard ap Rys: Jankyn ap John ap Rhys", etc., see "Notes on the Agincourt Roll" (1911), by Hamil-

ton Wylie. Brice and Bryce come from "ab Rice" (as Rice was the popular English form of Rhys), and have their home in the Border Counties. James Price of Gillingham, Suffolk, was a King's tenant in 1346. Among those who were pardoned in July, 1509, by Henry VIII., is the name of "Wm. Brice, Bruse or Brise of Halivell and Northlewe, Devon". Preece probably emanated, as a surname, from the borders of Wales. Evan Preece, by his will, dated 7th June, 1623, was a benefactor to the charities of the city of Hereford. "Prizse" is a fantastic variant found in Gloucestershire. The surname Priest is, in all probability, derived from "ab Rhys", possibly through Pries or Preise, and not from the ecclesiastical term, "priest". The name William Pries occurs in the parish register of Skenfrith, Mon., in 1779; and John Preise was a patron of the living of Bridenbury, Herefordshire, in 1617. Other variants, now obsolete in the Marches, were Brese, Brees and Prees. Pryse is an extant form of the surname found in South Wales. Prys is the primary and pure Welsh form of this family name, and Price is its most popular form in and out of the Principality. A Justice of the Peace, in the county of Hereford, in 1799, was called Uvedale Price.

Prothero and Protheroe come from "ap Rothero", an Anglicised form of the Welsh baptismal name Rhydderch. The marriage of a John Rothero, in 1814, is recorded in the parish register of Pilleth, Radnorshire. Brotheridge, a surname in Worcestershire, is a curious development of the name, and Protherough is a Gloucestershire form of the surname. Other existing variants in Wales are Pryther, in Breconshire, and Pryddmarch in Flintshire, unless it be a form of Prydderch. Prythro is a name, given in the parish register of Aberedw, Breconshire, under the year 1749. The will of one John Prodoroh, of the parish of "Gendor" (Gwenddwr), in the same county, was proved

in 1639. Prytherch is an English form of Prydderch. The *th* in Prytherch, and in the variants of Prothero, is the soft *th*, which corresponds with the pronunciation of the Welsh *dd*. Dwnn gives the pedigree of a family, named Protherch, in his "Visitations" (1585). Prytherech is an existing surname at Llandovery, Carmarthenshire.

Breen, Preen, etc., are derived from the personal name Rhyn. Rowland Preen was one of the two chamberlains of Bridgenorth in 1623, when the heralds visited Cheshire. Ambrose Pryne (or Prynn) of "Kynderton, or Kynverton", Salop, is mentioned in the Visitation of Worcester in 1569. The surname Peen, mentioned in the parish register of Weston under Penyard, Herefordshire, in 1741 (Richard Peen died aged 70), is probably a variant of Preen, with the "r" discarded. The sound of Pring has a Welsh ring about it. This surname appears to be a rural English interpretation of "ap Rhun".

Pickett, Pritchard, Prickard, Pritchett, etc. Prichard is "ap Richard". The surname is found early in the sixteenth century. "Thomas Prichit" received a royal pardon in February, 1509, and letters of pardon were granted in March, 1513, to "David ap Glin Prichard", Radnorshire, and to "John ap David ap Richard, Llewellyn ap David ap Richard", and others, "all late of Elwell in the marches of Wales". The pedigree of a Prickart family is given in Dwnn's "Visitations" (1585). The variants of Prichard, given in Lists Nos. 4 and 8, are corruptions of the name, with a letter or letters added, dropped or changed. A number of other variants, now obsolete in Wales and the adjoining counties, could be given, such as Prychard, Pritchett, Pritchitt, etc.

Probert is "ap Robert", of which the other variants given are mere corruptions of this surname. It has its home in Wales in Pembrokeshire, but is spread over other parts of South Wales. It is an unfamiliar name in North

Wales, as are other names of this “*ab*” and “*ap*” class. Many names, of this class, are found in parish registers in North Wales about two centuries ago, but they were superseded by bare baptismal names in those days of changing surnames. The following extracts are given from the parish register of Llangybi, S. Caernarvonshire, as instances of the then prevalence of Probert :—

“1719, Dec. 13, was babtized Jane daughter of William Probert and Elizabeth Hercules his wife.  
.....

1720, July 17, was bapt. Jonet dau. of Cadwalader Probt. John and Margaret William his wife.”

Probert has been a border county surname since the sixteenth century.

Probyn is “*ab Robin*”. This surname, like Probert, dates from the sixteenth century, but is almost an exclusive border county name. It never “took root” in Wales. The marriage is recorded, in the parish registers of Malpas, Cheshire, of “Jane *ap Robin*” in May, 1562 (she should have been described as “Jane *ach* (or *erch*) *Robyn*”); and of the death of Edward Probyn, in 1563. It is stated in the Visitation of Cheshire, 1613, that the family of “Probyne of Oulkastell” (Oldcastle), was known by that name about 1580. Brobyn is a surname found at Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Podgur, a Monmouthshire surname, comes from “*ab Roger*”. The variant, or original name, Proger, is found in Glamorgan. The name of John Brodger appears among the signatories to a letter sent in May, 1517, from the Yeomen of the Guard, the Constables of Tournay, to Cardinal Wolsey and the Council, see State Papers (Domestic), Hen. VIII., Vol. II., Pt. II., p. 1062. Charles Proger, of Monmouthshire, was at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1607; and Ed. Prodgers was M.P. for Breconshire from 1662 to 1678.

Prosser is the Welsh personal surname Rosser with the prefix "ap". Prosser is a form of the name, recorded in the parish register of Kempley, in Herefordshire, in 1761, and in that of Builth, in 1775. The surname Prowse is found in the counties of Worcester, Somerset and Devon. Bardsley derives the name (with variants "Prouse and Pruce") from "Pruce, i.e., Prussia". I cannot believe that it is necessary to go so far afield to find a derivation for the name, inasmuch as the prevalence of Prowse, in conjunction with Prosser, in the counties named, is a strong inference, if not proof (recollecting how sound and pronunciation were imitated), that this surname is a corruption of Prosser. Browse and Prouse are variants of Prowse.

Bonner, Bonnor, Bunner, Poyner, etc., come from "ab Ynyr", the Welsh equivalent of Honorius. "Yereward ab Yner or Ener" and "Ener Vychan", paid homage to the first English Prince of Wales, at Flint, in the year 1301. Philip Banner gave evidence at Abergavenny in a coining case, of 1534, previously mentioned. Roger Bynnor was a defendant in a law suit heard at "Wygmore", by "the Commissioners in the Welsh Marches" in June, 1539. An anonymous contributor to "Bye Gones", whose genealogical notes, to that journal, signed "H.G.W.", were always full of interest; referred in the issue of the journal, dated 8th April, 1903; to a conveyance of the 3rd April, 1681, in which certain lands, near Dolgelley, were conveyed to Sydney Bynner of Llanrhaiader y mochnant, Denbighshire; and stated that there was an important family, named Bynner, in the Llanfyllin district, at the end of the seventeenth century. Owen Bynner was one of the churchwardens of Pennant Melangell, in Montgomeryshire, in 1755. The surnames Bonner and Bonnor repeatedly occur in the parish register of Linton, Herefordshire, during the eighteenth century; and the death of



one Walter Bonner is recorded, in 1715, at the age of 80. Having regard to the fact that Bonner is found in every border county, and that, in most of them, the name takes such a suggestive form as either Boyner, Byner, Poiner, or Poyner, it can be regarded as certain that the Bonners and Bonnors, of the Marches, have derived their names from “*ab Ynyr*”. Another derivation of Bonner, which is accepted by English writers on surnames, is from the French, *deboncre*, *debonaire*; but it is doubtful whether that is the derivation of the surname, as borne by any family, on the borders of Wales. Bunney may be either a variant of Bunner, derived from “*ab Ynyr*”, or a variant of Bunning, from “*ab Eynon*”. The following extract is from the parish register of Mallwyd, Merioneth:—  
 “1573. Richard ap John ap Owen Bannwr was christened ye first day of April”. I regard it as improbable that any obsolete or existing variant of this surname is derived from the Welsh *bannwr*, i.e., “fuller”. I know of no Welsh surname, descriptive of a person’s occupation. Such descriptive terms, found in old pedigrees, as “Gruffith ap Grono Veddig”, “Morris ap Madoc Cigydd”, “Llewelyn ap Joukus Whith” (*gwêhydd*), etc., have been obsolete for some generations or ages.

Such surnames as Banwyl, Barnold, Barthur, Parbert, Prenall, Prynallt, and Puskin, do not appear now to be in use in the Marches and in Wales. Nicholas Banwyl was a Caernarvon name in 1542. Arnold Barnold of the parish of Dingastow, Mon., died in 1846. The Rev. Dd. Barthur lived at Llanfechell, Anglesey, in the eighteenth century. Parbert, Prynallt, and Puskin are names given in the late A. N. Palmer’s list in the “*Antiquary*” for 1887, p. 145. The Visitation of Shropshire (1622), gives “ap Renolds” as the derivation of John Prenall, whose father’s baptismal name was “Renolde” (Reynold). Popkin and Popkins (for “ap Hopkin”) are extant sur-

names in Glamorgan. Bebell, a Monmouthshire surname, may be derived from "ab Abel".

The surname Ballard is found in every border county, and Allard is also a surname in the Marches, but having regard to the universality of the surname Ballard, which, according to Bardsley, "seems to have been very popular for a bald-headed man", its possible additional Welsh derivation is disregarded. Bolland is formed by the blending of "ap" with an English surname, Holland: hence it is possible that some Ballards of the Border Counties, are not descendants of bald-headed ancestors, but are allied to the Allard family. Bardsley quotes Wycliff's translation of II. Kings, ii, 23, in support of the derivation given of Ballard: "An scorneden to hym saying, Styne up, ballard"; hence until documentary proof (if any) is forthcoming, the initial letter B is not accepted, in this case, as a safe guide.

There are a number of surnames in the Border Counties which may be of Welsh origin, but are not included owing to doubt as to their derivation. Dymock is said to be a contraction of "Dai madoe", and not originating in the name of the parish, so called, in Gloucestershire. Mabb, Mabbett, Mabbott, Mabey, Maby, Mapp, Mapson, found in one or more of these forms, in every border county, may have been derived from the Welsh word, *mab*, "son", just as Urch, a surname in the counties of Gloucester, Monmouth and Somerset, may be from *ferch*, "daughter", a word abbreviated in Welsh pedigrees to *erch*, etc. Bardsley regards some of the above-mentioned "Mab" names or derivatives, as derived from Mab, a pet name for the personal name Mabel. Yapp, a surname found in Shropshire and Herefordshire, may also be derived from "ab" or "ap", prefixed with the letter Y; just as the common name Yatton comes from Eaton. Apps, another Border surname, may also come from "ap". The

surnames Ruther and Rutter, found in Monmouthshire, may be variants of Rhydderch. The family names Prydderch and Prothero are well known names in that county. Augustine Ryther was an "engraver" and seller of prints, near Leadenhall in London, in 1592, and "Rether ap Rice, esquire", was the tenant "of the great island in the sea called le Iland, co. Cardigan", in the year 1550. Cawther and Kethro, in Cheshire, have a Welsh sound, and Goymons in Monmouthshire may be derived from Garmon. I will not digress from my subject by discussing these doubtful surnames, but will conclude this lengthy survey by observing that although there is such tiring sameness in our family names in Wales, yet there are names, in Wales, which disclose to the observant person the locality, whence those who bear them, come, a matter which is not without some interest. Names such as Gwilym David, Morgan Hopkins, Rowland James, Llewelyn Leyshon, or Jenkin Yorath suggest Glamorgan; Evan Breese, Richard Gittins, John Gwalchmay or William Llowarch, are distinctly Montgomeryshire names; while a person named Robert Bellis would probably come from Flintshire. Poole Bithel, David Dee Perry, and Wm. Tudor Pole are names which appear to have a Welsh setting or colouring, and those, who were so named, would, therefore, be rightly regarded, as persons coming from the Border Counties, or, at least, be of Welsh descent.

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## List No. 5 BAPTISMAL NAMES USED AS SURNAMES

[illegible]



LIST No. 6. DESCRIPTIVE TERMS USED AS SURNAMES.

[illegible]





Cheshire.	Shropshire.	Herefordshire.	Worcestershire.	Goucestershire.	Monmouthshire.	Somersetshire.	Devonshire.
Arden, Arderu (See Hawarden)	Arlington.		Arden, Ardern				Arden,
Blane, Blayne, (Blaenan)	Blamey	Blaen, Blain.	Blaen, Breckon	Baglan, Bagland, Baglan.	Berlyn		
Brittan, Britten, Britton	Brittain	Brittain, Britten.	Britten, ? Brechon.	Playney, Blaney			
Buckley, Cofin.	Buckley, Bulkeley, Cofin.	Catfyn	Catfin.	Brittam, Britton, Britten.	Bratten, Britton, Bruton.	Brittan, Britten, Britton.	Britton, Britton, Britton
			Caldicott.			Cofin, Catfyn, Caldicott	
		Cardiff Carey		Cambrey Cardif Carew, Carey, Carney	Caldicot.		
	Clough.		Carn.		Carey, Cary	Carw, Car, Cary	
				Cogan, Coggan, Coggan.	Cogan.	Clough Cogan, Cogman, Coggans	
Conway, Coombes, Coomes, Coombs	Coombs.	Coombes	Coombes	Combe, Combs, Coombe, Coombs, Coombs.	Coombes, Coombeby, Coombs	Conway Coombs, Coombs, Coombs.	Conway Coombe, Coombs, Coombs.
Craig.	Crum, Crump.			Craig	Craig		
	Derwas, Dilwyn.	Cumler.		Cruwys			Cruwys, Cruws
Eaton.	Eaton, Eyton.	Eaton, Eyton Ely Egar.	Eaton.		Eaton, Ely	Dunham	
			Flint	Flint Forden Froeth Frown Garn, Ganne, Glascott Glyn.	Flint		Flint
Firth	Firth	Fieeth.				Firth.	Firth
		Gham, Glynn.	Glyn, Glynn.		Gomer, Comer	Glynn	Gham, Gham, Glynn, Gomer
Gorst	Gower.	Gayer.	Gower.	Gower Grogan Gwinnett (Gwynedd).	Gower.		
Hamer, Hammer	Gwioneth, Haeoar, Hamer, Hammer.	Hamar, Hammer.			Gwinnett, Hamar, Hammer, Hargest		
Hawarden.	Hollywell			Isgar Karn.	Kelly	Keele, Kemmis	Kerry
		Kelly.		Kembrey			
	Kyffin	Kerry		Lanfear	Lanfear, Lantear, Lanter Langharne Langher	Lantear	
			Laugher, Lidard, Liddiard	Luddeat Liddiard, Liddhatt	Llanman.	Lady, at	
	Lydhate.	Lyddhatt, Lydhat		Lugg, Luget Machen, Machin.	Machen.	Meacham	Lugg
Maichen, Maighan	Machen, Machin, Meacham, Maighan, Mann	Llanwarne, Lugg Machin.	Lagg, Machin, Meachin	Magor		Magor.	
Meador, Makin, Meakin.	Mahler, Meakin		Mahler, Maylor Meakins Malpas, Malpass	Mal, Malpass		Meakins	
Maysmar Middleton Mould	Mold Montgomery	Malpas.				Mould	Montgomery Mostyn Nash
Moss.	Nash.	Nash.	Nash, Neath	Na	Montgomery, Moss, Nash.	Mostyn Nash.	
Neath, Newport	Newton.	Newton		Newport.		Newton	
	Overton.	Overton.	Pemrice			Penrose	
	Powis	Powis, Powys	Powis, Powys.	Pla (Blaenan).	Powis, Powys	Powys.	Powis, Powis, Powis, Powis
Rose, Ross, Rouse, Rossan.	Ross, Rouse.	Ross, Rouse	Ross, Rouse	Pae, land Ros, Ross, Rosier, Roxy	Rose, Ross	Rose, Ross, Rouse, Ross	Ros, R, Ros, Ross, Rose, Ross
	Shutton		Severn				
Skerratt, Stanton.	Stanton	Skerratt, Skerrett, Skerritt.		Trewin	Sully	Sully.	Trewin, Trewn
	(-) Tremelling	stanton, stintern, Sully Trewin.	Treace.	Treace, Trecroft, Trevelyan, Trevelyan			Treace, Treace, Treace
	Van				Walwyn		
Went	Wenlock Went	Went, Wigniore.	Winstone, Winsor (Trewin) Winnett, (Gwynedd)			Winstone	Winstone, Winstone





















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